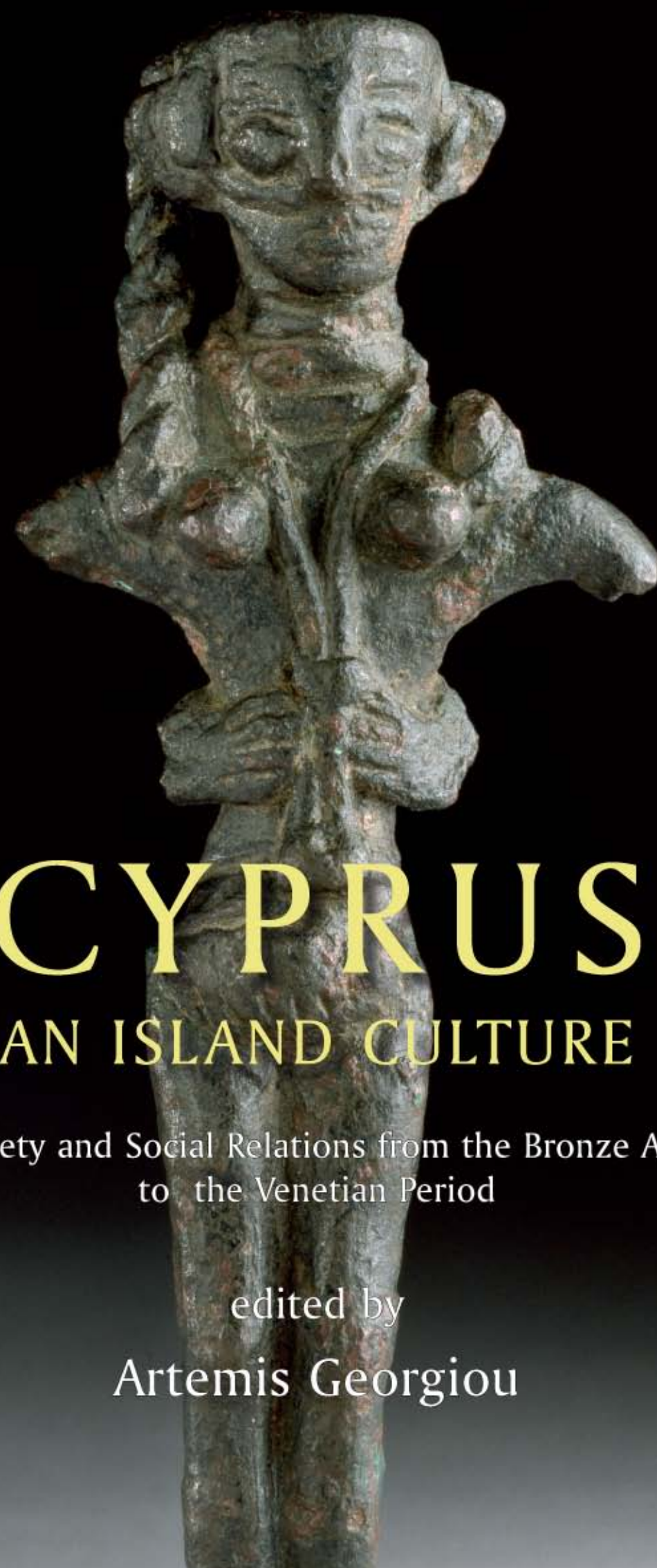




CYPRUS

AN ISLAND CULTURE

Society and Social Relations from the Bronze Age
to the Venetian Period

edited by
Artemis Georgiou

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*Society and Social Relations
from the Bronze Age to the Venetian Period*

edited by

Artemis Georgiou

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PREFACE

This volume presents the proceedings of the 9th annual conference in Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology (POCA 2009), which was held at the Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies, University of Oxford from the 19th to the 21st of November 2009. POCA 2009 encompassed 24 presentations by postgraduate students and young researchers, coming from a number of institutions and universities in Europe and the United States. The meeting provided a unique opportunity for the new generation of Cypriot archaeologists to present their work and interact in a friendly and productive environment.

The conception of a conference at which postgraduate students of Cypriot Archaeology could present their ongoing research was first conceived by Dr Kirsí Lorenz, who organised the first Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology meeting at the University of Cambridge in 2001. From that year onwards, POCA continued as an annual meeting and has been successfully organised by a number of universities in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Cyprus and Belgium. Nowadays, POCA has become a well established international institution for students in Cypriot Archaeology. This growth of the POCA meetings coincides with the increasing popularity of Cypriot Archaeology itself, which has been established in recent years as a significant discipline in its own right.

Following the tradition set by the organisers of POCA 2005 in Dublin, and judging by the high standards and original contribution of the 9th POCA meeting, it was decided that the proceedings should be published. All papers were subject to anonymous peer-reviews in order to ensure the quality of the papers presented in this volume.

The keynote article of this volume is based on the plenary presentation by Edgar Peltenburg. In this contribution, Professor Peltenburg discusses the political landscape of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, attempting to combine textual and archaeological sources. The rest of the volume's contributions are divided in three sections. The first, entitled "Settlements, Burials and Society in Ancient Cyprus" begins with a paper by David Sewell, who presents new results from the excavations at the Chalcolithic cemetery of Souskiou-*Laona*. The following contribution by Lisa Graham discusses the ceramic production of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, based on new excavations from the necropolis of Kissonerga-*Ammoudhia*. In the subsequent articles, Luca Bombardieri presents preliminary results from the ongoing excavations at the site Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* and Artemis Georgiou compares and contrasts the topographical, architectural and artefactual characteristics of two short-lived Late Bronze Age settlements, Pyla-

Kokkinokremos and *Maa-Palaeokastro*. Anna Georgiadou presents the ceramic production from a significant tomb discovered at Lapithos and discusses matters of chronology and circulation in the Early Geometric period. In the following contribution, Duncan Howitt-Marshall presents the underwater activities at the site *Kouklia-Achni* and discusses problems and perspectives. Finally, this section closes with the contribution by Philippa Steele, who examines the linguistic and archaeological evidence for the “Eteocypriot” language.

The second section of this publication is entitled “Religion, Cult and Iconography in Ancient Cyprus” and begins with a paper by Matthew Spigelman, re-examining the relation of copper and cult in the Late Bronze Age. In the following articles, Katarzyna Zeman-Wisniewska discusses gender aspects of the Cypriot terracotta production in the Early Iron Age and Aurélie Caribillet scrutinizes the relation of Hathor, the Great Goddess and the production of copper in Cyprus. The paper by Anja Ulbrich presents the votive sculpture from the sanctuary at Maroni-Vournes and explores the cult and iconography at this religious context.

The final part, entitled “Ancient Cyprus and the Mediterranean” is dedicated to the contacts of ancient Cyprus with the Mediterranean world. Lesley Bushnell discusses the role of Cyprus in relation to the circulation of Mycenaean perfumed oil. Anna Paule presents her ongoing doctoral research on the jewellery of Cyprus and Greece and attempts to reproduce the relation of these two areas in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. In the subsequent contribution Alexander Vacek explores the connections between the production of Greek and Cypriot pottery during the Geometric period. The following article by Iva Chirpanlieva contextualises the presence of Attic pottery from Kition and draws interesting results on the significance of this pottery in this particular context. Caroline Autret elaborates on the production and circulation of amphoras in Cyprus and Cilicia during the Early Roman era and discusses the relations between these two areas. Finally, Iosif Hadjikyriakos presents the Venetian elements in the iconostasis of Cyprus and examines the connotations of these aspects for the Medieval society of the island.

The papers included in this volume cover a wide time-span, ranging chronologically from the Chalcolithic period to the Medieval times. They present the results of new archaeological excavations and research, and comprise archaeological, anthropological and scientific approaches to the material culture of ancient Cyprus.

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The organisation of the 9th Annual POCA meeting at Oxford was made possible thanks to the generous financial contribution of the Craven Committee, the Cyprus Tourism Organisation, the Classics Centre Faculty Board and the Meyerstein Committee. In particular, I would like to extend my gratitude to Anne Smith of the Classics Centre and Costas Catsellis and Orestis Rossides of the Cyprus Tourism Organisation.

Particular thanks are due to Professor Edgar Peltenburg who presented a stimulating plenary lecture at the opening of the 2009 POCA meeting. I am additionally grateful to Professor Peltenburg for agreeing to the inclusion of his paper in this volume. Dr Niki Katsaouni addressed a welcome on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus and I am indebted for her involvement. I wish to especially thank Irene S. Lemos, Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Oxford, for addressing a welcome to the participants and presenting the conference's closing remarks. I am further grateful to Professor Lemos for her encouragement and guidance throughout the preparation of the conference and the publication of the proceedings.

A number of people also contributed to the realisation of POCA 2009 and I am thankful for their input. Jeremy Worth designed and updated the conference's website and Matthew Lloyd, Caroline Thurston and Alice Gardner assisted with the organisation of the meeting. The chairpersons of each session regulated and stimulated discussions after the end of each paper and their input is greatly appreciated. I also wish to address special thanks to the administrative staff of the Classics Centre for their availability and support. Finally, I wish to acknowledge Anna Satraki, Skevi Christodoulou and Ariane Jacobs, past organisers of the POCA meetings, for their invaluable guidance in matters pertaining to the organisation of the conference.

I additionally wish to thank Oxbow Books Publications for agreeing to publish the proceedings of POCA 2009. In particular, I am thankful to Julie Gardiner and Val Lamb for their hard work in preparing this volume for publication and for their good will and support. Caroline Thurston provided valuable help with the editing of the papers and I thank her for her help. The anonymous reviewers of each paper kindly granted their time and expertise and through their fruitful and constructive feedback, they have greatly benefited the authors' contributions. I cannot thank them enough for their input in the realisation of this volume. Finally, I wish to thank the authors for their punctuality and benevolence during the preparation of this volume.

Artemis Georgiou

ABBREVIATIONS

Journals and Book Series

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>ActaArch</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AnatSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara</i>
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal. The Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London</i>
<i>AntK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>ARA</i>	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>CCEC</i>	<i>Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes</i>
<i>CurrAnthr</i>	<i>Current Anthropology</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IJNA</i>	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration</i>
<i>JAnthArch</i>	<i>Journal of Anthropological Archaeology</i>
<i>JAR</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Research</i>
<i>JFA</i>	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JOBG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
<i>MeditArch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology. Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OpArch</i>	<i>Opuscula archaeologica</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula atheniensia</i>
<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>RLA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>
<i>SIMA</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
<i>TelAviv</i>	<i>Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology</i>
<i>WorldArch</i>	<i>World Archaeology</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>

Other Abbreviations

Bichr	Bichrome
BISl	Black Slip
CA	Cypro-Archaic
CG	Cypro-Geometric
DP	Drab Polished ware
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EC	Early Cypriot
EPG	Early Protogeometric
FS	Furumark Shape
HBW	Handmade Burnished ware
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LC	Late Cypriot
LChal	Late Chalcolithic
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MC	Middle Cypriot
MChal	Middle Chalcolithic
MG	Middle Geometric
MM	Middle Minoan
Psc	Pendent semicircle(s)
PWP	Proto-White Painted
RLWM	Red Lustrous Wheelmade ware
RP	Red Polished ware
RPSC	Red Polished South Coast ware
SM	Submycenaean
WP	White Painted
WPWm III	White Painted Wheelmade III

TEXT MEETS MATERIAL IN LATE BRONZE AGE CYPRUS

Edgar Peltenburg

Current concerns about the role of the state in modern western society resonate strongly with key narratives about the nature of governance and society in Late Bronze Age (LBA) Cyprus.¹ Just as there are some who are ideologically opposed to the “big state”, so too are there scholars who argue against a centrally administered, island-wide LBA polity model. It is nonetheless generally agreed that the situation was not static over the five centuries of the LBA, *c.* 1600–1100 BC. Much of the debate concerns the role and identification of Alašiya with all or part of Cyprus (recently: Knapp 2008; Merrillees 2011).

A breakthrough from unexpected quarters has not entirely overcome the impasse between nay-sayers, those who remain sceptical of an association with Cyprus, and believers who are sometimes driven to exasperation: “why do Cypriot archaeologists still hesitate in accepting the identification [of Alašiya with Cyprus]” (Muhly 1996, 49). The breakthrough stems from archaeological science, from petrographic analyses of tablets of the king of Alašiya found at Amarna in Egypt, and possibly at Ugarit in Syria. They prove to be consistent with clay sources from the south-eastern margins of the Troodos Mountains on Cyprus. From this, Goren *et al.* (2003) argue that the political and administrative centre in the 14th-13th centuries was located at one of two sites in that region, *Alassa-Palioaverna* or *Kalavastos-Ayios Dhimitrios*. Not all are convinced, not least because we need to apply a battery of analytical techniques to sourcing issues rather than just one (*e.g.* Merrillees 2011). But there is little doubt that these petrographic results have bolstered the case for the identification of Alašiya with all or part of LBA Cyprus, one that is accepted in this paper.

There are several models for the socio-political organisation of LBA Cyprus (Bolger 2003; Steel 2004, 181–186 and Knapp 2008, 144–153 for overviews). In terms of methodology, we can divide them roughly into three groups. Most archaeologists privilege material culture in their reconstructions. A second group, comprised largely of Assyriologists, refers almost exclusively to textual evidence (*e.g.* Malbran-Labat 1999; Singer 1999, 721; Steiner 1962). Lastly

are those researchers who attempt a combination of the two (*e.g.* Steel 2004; Eriksson 2007). Knapp (2008) has been a leading exponent of the third approach, advocating the need for a synthesis of both the material evidence and the documentary. But even using all the evidence to hand, many uncertainties prevail. In her overview, Steel highlights as an outstanding unresolved problem of LBA Cypriot studies the socio-political organisation that underpinned substantive economic and social transformations, increase in population, new settlements, hierarchical settlement patterns, urbanisation and international trade (Steel 2004, 150). So tenuous is the evidence that scholars make fundamental re-appraisals. Thus, Knapp once argued for the existence of local polities administered by local elites in the 14th-13th centuries BC, yet recently he opts for the existence of a king who controlled the entire island (Knapp 2008, 340–341; *cf.* 1997, 66–68; 2006, 52). But what kind of territorial polity (or polities) was it? What was distinctive about the organisation of LBA Cyprus to have produced the recovered material culture record? What was the role of the king? To try to address these and other questions, I re-visit what we mean by the problematic term “state” in the context of *Alašiya* and explore the intersections between text and material culture, following on from an earlier effort to account for the beginnings of a state on the island, one in which I had shied away from considering the evolved characteristics of that kingdom, its extent, or its government (Peltenburg 1996, 28). Specifically, I would like to evaluate what I see as an apparent conflict between textual evidence which projects *Alašiya* as comparable to other great states of the Ancient Near East and the contemporary material record which lacks so many features evident in neighbouring archaic states, that is entities that have left us explicit paraphernalia of formal institutions of government. This is potentially a revealing tension that merits investigation, one which acknowledges that contrasts between documentary sources and material culture evidence are commonplace in historical archaeology, a field where there is often “no easy way to resolve these viewpoints into a comfortable narrative” (Foxall 2004, 83).

The shift in scholarly emphasis away from the neo-evolutionary project that seeks material correlates for artificially discrete stages of development has impacted on Cyprus. Scholars like Diane Bolger (2003), Bernard Knapp (2008), Joanna Smith (1994) and Jennifer Webb (2005), acknowledging the existence of a complex polity or polities, have chosen instead to investigate their operational mechanics. Priscilla Keswani’s influential model of a heterarchical society in the east, hierarchical in the south points to the likely existence of intra-island variation and to evolving rather than static systems (Keswani 1996). Highlighting the role of the political economy, I tried to apply the notion of territories, that is, an urban core that mobilised its resource-rich hinterland, as fundamental to the emergence of one or more polities on the island

(Peltenburg 1996; see also Iacovou in press). In that regional treatment, export-oriented centres like Enkomi may have controlled or been closely allied with forts on the routes to the mines to ensure supplies of copper. But with a few notable exceptions, these and other studies have largely sidestepped the implications of relevant textual evidence.

When we turn to the royal texts which portray Alašiya as other Near Eastern states, we need to address the issue of why the material evidence of Cyprus does not match the evidence for archaic states found amongst its correspondents. The issue gains traction in light of a spate of studies on emulation as a key structuring principle in the emergence of complex socio-political organisation on Cyprus (*e.g.* Keswani 2004, 139; Knapp 2006; Webb 2005). Most concern the acquisition by elites of eastern valuables that served as insignia to define class membership and the manufacture of prestige items bearing a complex, foreign inspired iconography. Jennifer Webb has forcefully argued for the role of seals, with their exotic presentation scenes, horned divinities, lions and griffins, as “wholesale adoption of motifs drawn from foreign (primarily Near Eastern) cosmologies symptomatic of the profound and rapid change in material culture which accompanied secondary state formation on the island” (Webb 2005, 180). Emulation, in other words, played a significant role in the materialisation of an ideology to promote and legitimate the new order. Following Helms, this view applies to the concept of kingship itself, since in cases of newly formed states on the periphery of well established civilizations, “kingship was at least partly legitimised by association with foreign political ideologies derived from outside polities” (Helms 1988, 148). In the case of Cypriot elites, Webb proposes that they acquired “the conceptual means to implement their authority from the same sources which provided the suites of prestige objects which served as a visible manifestation of that authority. Foreign models of political ideology, that is, appear to have offered Cypriot elites a blueprint for domination” (Webb 2005, 181). Before turning to the question of agency and on-the-ground heterogeneity in adaptive behaviours (*cf.* Keswani 2007), it is instructive to note a key element of contemporary Amarna letters in the context of the above appropriations.

Documentary evidence regarding Alašiya mainly concerns external relations and so it tells us little about domestic socio-political arrangements. But there are hints, and it is possible to make inferences of a general nature (see below). The texts from Alašiya recovered in the Egyptian capital at Amarna are written in provincial Akkadian and they deploy the conventional salutations used amongst the royal houses of the Near East. Eastern scribes were brought to Cyprus for this purpose and they gave a standardised account of the sender: “For me all goes well. For my household, my wives, my sons, my magnates, my horses, my chariots, and in my country, all goes very well” (*e.g.* EA 35; Malbran-Labat 1999). In the eyes of the addressee the

word household would typically refer to a governmental infrastructure attached to the royal household, that is, the palace (Schloen 2001). Such palaces, then, are a key element of the letters, they are emblematic of states of the time, and, as we have seen, the elites of Cyprus in both their material culture and Akkadian writings were well integrated into the contemporary international political milieu. But closer inspection reveals fissures in this neat equation. For example, we would expect that this elite-driven orientalising process would entail the construction of palaces such as those uncovered in Egypt, Hatti and the lands of other Great Kings, the metaphorical “brothers” or diplomatic equals of the king of Alašiya. Even minor and vassal states such as those at Qatna, Alalakh and Megiddo have kings and imposing palaces as befit their status (Pfälzner 2007; Woolley 1955; Bunimovitz 1994). The best known and nearest instance is the 7000 sq m palace of a long line of kings at Ugarit (Yon 1997). So, it is relevant that in the correspondence between Alašiya and Ugarit, the king of Ugarit holds an inferior rank to the king of Alašiya. Given the close, personalised relations between international royal households and the orientalising dynamic, we might anticipate the material manifestation of those ranked relations in quite a grand edifice on the island. And of course, despite the excavation of a large number of LBA sites, there is no unambiguous occurrence of a palace on the island (for an alternative view: Wright 1992, 278). What we have in terms of large structures are forts, elegant buildings often with storage facilities, and temples. Ashlar Building X at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* is only 900 sq m, Building II at Alassa-*Paliotaverna* 1421 sq m (South 1989, 320–322; Hadjisavvas 2003). There are no imposing structures equalling the size of even modest palaces in the Levant, ones with quarters for bureaucrats and dependent labourers. The usual apex of LBA state hierarchy is missing, even though the texts would seem to call for its existence.

There are other characteristic features of states intimately connected with Alašiya that are also missing on the island. In spite of her best efforts to argue for the use of seals as sphragistic devices for administration, Jennifer Webb acknowledges that the extreme scarcity of sealings, that is impressions made from stone seals, is problematic (Webb 1999, 306). Joanna Smith regards the single example from Enkomi as local, Edith Porada as an import (Smith 2002, 16). Inferred wooden rollers for impressed storage jars, especially at Alassa, and other evidence indicates that some of these devices were used for administrative purposes, but the virtual absence of sealings from stone seals suggests that the customary bureaucratic practices so closely associated with Near Eastern states were appreciably modified by islanders who so assiduously copied and, more significantly, adapted eastern models. The widespread distribution of the stone seals could be due to a number of reasons, but in the absence of sealings they remain equivocal signs of centralised administration of the island. Without independent supporting evidence, other

material indicators marshalled for centrist interpretations such as standardised bull rhyta, female terracotta images, repeated depiction of deities, ashlar masonry, monumental complexes and common imagery on prestige goods (Webb 1999, 307; Knapp 2008, 339–340) seem too precarious a basis for concluding the existence of a sovereign state that controlled the whole island. Such cultural production of symbolic resources may well be equated with maintenance of elite status which, while important for the cohesiveness and shared identity of LBA society, speaks to the existence of a complex society, but not the details of its political organisation (*cf.* Wright 2004, 77–78). Cyprus lacks the more explicit evidence, well attested on the mainland, of palatial centres, dynastic regalia and iconography of a ruling ideology that would more convincingly sustain the argument for a centrally administered state (Manning and De Mita 1997, 108–109). And yet, an entity that was internationally recognised in documentary sources as a highly ranked kingdom, the equivalent of what by convention are called states elsewhere, did exist on Cyprus.

In sum, there is a disjuncture between traditional expectations from the texts and material culture patterning, a lack of fit between archaeology and evolutionary constructs, one that prompts re-consideration of the models that have often provided the interpretive frameworks for socio-political narratives of LBA Cyprus (*cf.* Fischer 2007, 48–49). Two critical aspects that have informed models and shaped narratives are our notions of what constitutes an archaic state and the textual evidence.

The archaic state

Disenchantment with the regularities of neo-evolutionism, the growth of archaeological information and more elaborate analyses have increasingly led to questions about the usefulness of the term “state” for an understanding of what conventionally pass for archaic or early states. After ranging widely over the concept, and especially its material manifestations, A. Smith abandons the term altogether in preference for “early complex polities” (Smith 2003, 94–111; *cf.* Adams 2006 for “early complex societies”). He is not the first to do so. And yet the term archaic state is retained for its heuristic value in a wide-ranging review of the concept by archaeologists, even though some amongst them are driven to describe certain ancient complex societies such as the Indus Valley civilization as a “non-state” (Feinman and Marcus 1998; Possehl 1998). There is an enormous literature on early states, but rather than get snared in typological boxes, many scholars acknowledge the broad spectrum of early complex polities and now prefer to ask questions like “what did early complex societies actually *do*” (Smith 2003, 25). There are numerous approaches. Campbell, for example, advocates that the “nature of... networks of power,

the boundaries of political community, and their relationships through time [should] become three foci of investigation to replace the study of the state” (Campbell 2009, 823). Before turning to such approaches in relation to LBA Cyprus, we should first look at its eastern neighbours, since, as shown above, the islanders became entangled with long-established states there, and were deeply influenced by them.

Until recently, studies of the state in the Ancient Near East have laboured under the dual hegemony of neo-evolutionism and the Mesopotamian state model (Yoffee 2005 for critique). The former led to the identification of archaeological correlates for the described features of states, trait lists which effectively foreclosed explorations into the dynamics of authority, resistance and change. The latter owes much to the work of scholars like Johnson and Wright who were concerned with pristine state formation in South Mesopotamia where hierarchically organised bureaucratic controls of surplus production and redistribution played a decisive role in irrigation-based economies (Johnson 1982; Wright and Johnson 1975). Starting with Diakonoff’s (1974) assertion of the role of the extended family and the commune, it has become clear that power at the centre was more severely constrained than assumed, to the extent that, according to Stein (2001, 369), “the state concept itself needs fundamental rethinking”. One of the outcomes of this re-thinking is the delineation of more locally empowered households and more corporate forms of political action and agency, especially on the fringes of Mesopotamia, but also within Mesopotamia itself (*e.g.* Pollock 1999; Renger 2003; Ur 2010; Van de Mieroop 1997). Yoffee (2005, 61, 109–112) gives examples of authoritative councils, assemblies and groups of elders in Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, Anatolia and Syria. Since these alternative sources of power existed in politically complex societies usually referred to as states, it is worth looking briefly at some from Syria, a region with which Cyprus was in close contact. In doing so I select examples which highlight the plurality of authority in complex systems as a counterpoint to the dominance of the palace or temple in the normative Mesopotamian model.

Texts of the 3rd millennium refer to the widespread occurrence of confederacies of independent authorities as well as the EN, usually translated as king. In the east, texts from Beydar recount how an EN has to attend a council of local chiefs (Lerberghe 1996, 121). In the west, Ebla, with its celebrated royal palace and archives, supplies more varied evidence. The EN there seems to have shared power with a council of elders (Archi 1987). It formed a kind of senate which checked the authority of the EN, played a significant role in international affairs and was indispensable in decision making. The elders sat “near the throne”, resided in outlying cities, had their own “house”, and were also lodged in administrative headquarters (Astour 2002, 150–152). The EN was elected and only once is there evidence for dynastic succession. So constrained

was the power of the EN that it may be preferable to think of him in terms of the chief executive officer of a council rather than a monarch (Klengel 1992, 27). The Eblaite example is useful as an analogy for Cyprus in that its textual information pertains to a secondary state not long after its formation. Analogies, of course, come with health warnings.

Other cities in north and west Syria also furnish textual evidence for the existence of collective governance that limited the exercise of royal power. Emar and Tuttul on the mid-Euphrates, and Urkesh in the north had robust, collective decision-making structures. Emar provides the most detailed evidence (Adamthwaite 2001; Fleming 2004, 211–212). In the early 2nd millennium there is no evidence for a king there, and actions were taken by elders and an assembly or council known as the *taḥtamun* meeting at its own initiative (Durand 1990). But the political situation was unstable and power shifted between groups. Before that time, it was ruled by an EN, later, a dynasty with restricted authority. Other places, like Azu and Ekalte on the bend of the Euphrates River, had several coexisting bodies, including a community of city elders, the temple priesthood and the “Brothers”, who exercised much of the real power. Material evidence for these distinct, competing bases of control exists in the issue of different, communal and royal, seal types (Yamada 1994). In many places in Syria, therefore, elders and other groups constituted independent governing bodies pursuing their own agendas within a volatile equilibrium of authority. Power-sharing was negotiated, and elders sometimes appear to have had equal power to the king, in one case removing him (Astour 1992, 51).

Further insights into power-sharing exist at LBA Ugarit, the city with which Alašiya had the closest relations. In his *House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*, David Schloen uses the evidence from Ugarit to argue how the celebrated palace in the Ancient Near East should be regarded as a household headed by a king. In this sense, the king’s household is first among many. At Ugarit, his power was tempered by administrative nuclei headed by the prefect (*sākinu*), queen, elders and the great ones with devolved centres dealing with affairs of state and, significantly, private administration (Heltzer 2004; Vita 1999, 468–471). Thus, the Hittite king addresses the elders of Ugarit separately (Malbran-Labat 1995, 39–40), and councils of elders are found widely in the kingdom (Malbran-Labat 2006, 65). When Courtois (1990) showed that the Palais Sud, or Petit Palais, was in fact the private residence of Yabninu it became clear that devolved centres were private houses. So entangled were affairs of the state and private households that Assyriologists have serious problems in distinguishing which of the c. 600 tablets from the House of Urtenu, located well outside the palace, deal with royal matters, which private (Malbran-Labat 2004).

Recognising this interdependence in the political economy of the kingdom, Routledge and McGeough (2009, 28) adopt critical network theory to show that there was no public sector since “the palace operated not as manager of a state-economy but as the biggest household in a network of households”. Devised for modern economics, the theory emphasizes the socially embedded framework for exchange transactions, the lack of a formal source of sovereign authority in them and the existence of informal hierarchies (McGeough 2007, 31–32). Monroe also finds that the palace was often a facilitator with more interest in access and investment than control (Monroe 2009, 279). This embedded system occurred much more widely in the Ancient Near East. In contemporary Assyria, Postgate (1986, 27) remarks how the royal house was derived from one among many family businesses with procedures for agents that formed a commercial structure that could be adapted to the task of government. These examples suggest that, with palace and private interests so intertwined, especially with respect to trade, it may be misleading to distinguish sharply between private and public spheres in the LBA political economy.

In addressing the issue of Cypriot adaptation of eastern political structures, therefore, it is clear that many of the potential Levantine models comprised constrained palatial systems, with devolved powers embedded in a matrix of households, especially in economic and judicial matters, rather than monolithic, homogenous hierarchies. With that in mind, it may be helpful to move away from bipolar, structuralist approaches to the nature of LBA Cypriot society that have tended to treat interdependent aspects as exclusive models (*e.g.* Royal : Non-royal, Hierarchy : Heterarchy, Class : Kinship, State-controlled trade : Entrepreneurial trade, Luxury goods : Value-added substitutes, *Any* ships : Round boats), and to treat them instead as dynamic historical processes. Documentary evidence, however, is biased and so requires particular care.

The textual evidence

Many of the pertinent documents comprise international diplomatic correspondence between the king of Alašiya and Egypt (the Amarna letters), the Hittites (de Martino 2008) and Ugarit (Knapp 1996; Malbran-Labat 1999). With the exception of some Hittite texts, which, when explicit, treat the Alašiyān king as a vassal, he is regarded as one of the Great Kings, the superior of the king of Ugarit. As noted above, these letters from Alašiya were written in peripheral Akkadian and so Akkadian scribes came to the island to make possible diplomatic and concomitant trade interactions. One of these, attached to the royal household of Alašiya, was the servant of the king of Ugarit (Malbran-Labat 1999, 122–123). The scribes were versed in centuries-old conventions of diplomatic letter-writing that expedited international contacts between the ruling courts of disparate states. Mario Liverani (1996, 285) emphasizes the propagandistic nature of this

correspondence, and, as he has shown, the need to read any text as a “message” with an issuing source, an audience, a purpose and a code. But what audience was there on Cyprus for something the size of a tablet that no one, other than the visiting scribe, could read? As shown by the later Bar-Rekub stele, the process of international communication was most likely confined to an oral delivery by the king in one language and a fair copy by the scribe in another (Frankfort 1970, 305, ill. 358). The question of the extent of literacy on the island does not arise here, for society at large was not involved, even if discussion with envoys took place in privileged circles. In such circumstances, we should not expect that the stereotyped royal ideology of the texts will convey the more complicated reality of socio-political organisation suggested by material culture patterning on the island (Monroe 2009, 246–247; cf. Campbell 2009, 830). To quote Helck, referring to similar Egyptian texts of the time, “the sources hide the reality of ancient political factions and their competition for power” (1987).

In general, no matter what the situation was on the ground, the Akkadian scribes of the time adhered to the existing formulae of courtly ideology as the necessary and acceptable means of communication, the only ones that were understandable to interlocutors. And their fixed terminology covered what in fact were such disparate realities that it is an insensitive tool for understanding the socio-political structures it purports to signal. We are therefore dealing with parallel realities. As Liverani (1990, 288) has repeatedly pointed out, the existence of different cultural backgrounds and different political systems and languages in the Levant gave rise to misunderstandings and ambiguities in these texts. Others go further.

Meier cautions that terms in the Amarna letters “are being used in a cosmopolitan environment that strips the words of their cultural moorings in order to attain a more generic utility, transcending specific cultures and inevitably weakening their semantic contentthe terminology...was too impoverished and debased to convey adequately the meaning brought by each participant to the international dialogue” (Meier 2000, 168). And so, “the term king, *šarru*, in the international milieu meant something different to the various kings who used it” (Meier 2000, 170). This gloss is echoed in the material world where many luxury objects similarly convey “a hybridized expression of generalized kingship and suppressed cultural affiliation” (Feldman 2006, 16). Nor was this flexibility an innovation of the Amarna period. In earlier 2nd millennium Syria the term *šarru* was used for rulers of many entities, ranging from large territorial states to towns, fortified, ritual and administrative centres, with small or large populations (Fleming 2004, 105, 193). Regarding Cyprus, Sherratt (1998, 297) entirely dismisses the utility of the terminology for an appreciation of the political arrangements on the island.

Viewed in this way, no matter what the political organisation of Cyprus, standardised Akkadian titles for leaders were used for communication abroad. The terms had symbolic malleability, they were fit for purpose, but that purpose was not intended as an objective description of the island's socio-political organisation. It may have been so different that, even if they wanted to, scribes simply had no vocabulary to make it intelligible to the outside world. Instead, they were there to facilitate meaningful relations using titles that were internationally comprehensible, not to provide us with an accurate picture. So, to take these generic labels at face value is to misunderstand agency, that is, the practices and intentions of professional LBA scribes engaged in international diplomacy. The *chaîne opératoire* of letter-writing and the contextualised meaning of the terms caution against a straightforward reading of these texts for an understanding of the socio-political organisation in Cyprus. Thus, the term *šarru*, king, was used for a position of authority in Alašiya, but the absence of royal symbolism suggests that even if the term gained real currency internally, its meaning was adapted to local structures. After addressing similar issues, Liverani succinctly asks: "given the deeply biased nature of the official sources....could we ever hope to write a nonbiased history?" (Liverani 1996, 286).

Taking into account the receptiveness of islanders to the oriental goods that flooded high-status markets, it seems unlikely that such formulae had no effect at all on the privileged few. Telling influences on manners and traditions are evident in several statements in the letters. For example, the Alašayan king acknowledges the timing of coronation rites of his Egyptian counterpart: "I have heard that you are seated on the throne of your father's house. You said let us have transported back and forth gifts of peace" (EA 33). It was customary in the Near East to restate expressions of friendliness upon the accession of a new ruler (Moran 1992, 104–105, n. 4). In another instance, the king is made aware of the date of a festival for the performance of a sacrifice in Egypt: "As to your having written me, 'Why did you not send your messenger to me?', the fact is that I had not heard that you were going to perform a sacrifice" (EA 34). It seems clear from these statements that the Alašayan king and presumably his entourage had detailed knowledge of foreign ways and were expected to acknowledge them. And just as exotica were locally manipulated to sustain power differentials, so was there an impetus for leaders to engage in extra-local exchange by embedding foreign systems as much as possible. Yet, the lack of ruler-centred paraphernalia implies that antipathetic sentiment probably existed to the overt display of kingly forms. While some islanders may have promoted its acceptance, I suspect that local kin-based society, having only relatively recently begun to engage meaningfully with Near Eastern stratified societies, retained strong resistance in status quo quarters and that tensions existed

between traditional Cypriot kinship ways and the “new” politically stratified template. Effects, therefore, were mediated according to local conditions.

Within the fixed patterns of international diplomacy, deviations from the norm are revealing of local political identity. For example, the form of address and greeting in two letters from Alašiya, EA 35 and 40, is highly unusual, but it is not obvious how to interpret these anomalies (Mynářová 2007, 46, 100–101; Moran 1992, xxii–xxiii, n. 53). There are however four cases which furnish clearer, though not entirely unambiguous, insights into the political organisation of Alašiya. First, the king of Alašiya admits to the loss of villages within his own land (EA 38). It would seem that he has little control over parts of Alašiya allegedly involved with the Lukki. While vassal kings repeatedly express concerns about the loss of territory to the Egyptian king, this is exceptional amongst the great kings classed as brothers. It is not the same as Babylon’s admission of the loss of a caravan since that involves claims for compensation (EA 8). The situation in Alašiya could have been temporary, although the alleged depredations of Madduwattas and others reinforce the notion that territory was vulnerable (Goetze 1928). Second, the revelation by a sovereign of one of the great states, Alašiya, that he is in fact acting upon complaints from independent sectors within his domain, is also unusual. In this case, he asserts that payment is due to certain groups for timber that was sent to Egypt as the king’s timber (EA 35). Here it is shown that the king of Alašiya acts like a CEO and the passage emphasizes the distinctive, multi-centric structure of the Alašayan political economy. In Liverani’s translation, the king of Alašiya states that the people “protest” to him about the lack of payment in order to press his case to Egypt, but at the same time it provides a revealing insight into the workings of island authority (Liverani 2001, 118). The third case to distinguish Alašiya from normative diplomacy is the exceptional commercial tenor of its Amarna letters, one that is only paralleled by Assyria, another land intensively involved with trade (Liverani 2001, 148–149). The anomaly suggests that Alašiya is only weakly involved with the game of prestige gift giving, one that reinforces the divergent nature of the Alašayan polity. Last is the significant role of the *rābišu*, the “great” or “senior” governor/representative of Alašiya (CAD 14 1999, 20–23).

The *rābišu* writes to his opposite number in Egypt about the same things that often concern the king: greeting gifts, return of men and ship (EA 40). Governors do write to each other, as did Takhulinu of Ugarit and Haya of Egypt (Singer 1983), but this is the only case in the Amarna state archives. Mynářová (2007, 184) provides a survey of correspondents that include princes, queen and citizens, but not *rābišu*. It could be mere chance that this letter survives, and none from other centres, were it not for the recurrence of missives from several governors again some 150 years later, in correspondence between Alašiya and the royal court at Ugarit. In these

cases, they all wrote directly to the king of Ugarit and we have their names: *Ešuwara* (RS 20.18) in the Rapanou archive, and *Šinama* (RS 94.2173) and *Šangiwa* (RS 94.2447+) in the Urtenu archive. The last addresses king Niqmaddu, presumably Niqmaddu III who reigned c. 1210–1200 BC (Yon 2007, 18–19). Hittite texts not only confirm the remarkable prominence of the *rābišu* of the island, they hint at a dual power-sharing arrangement (cf. Smith 1994, 16–18; Knapp 2008, 336). In a treaty with Hatti, the *rābišu* was treated as the equal of the Alašīyan king and both the king and the *rābišu* (^{LU}*pidduri* in the Hittite texts: de Martino 2008, 255) are held responsible for paying the tribute to the sun god of Arinna. In the same correspondence with Hatti, the *rābišu* is noted as living in a separate city from the Alašīyan king, in “.....*umma*” (Steiner 1962, 13–16; Otten 1963, 10–13). For some 150 years, therefore, this Alašīyan office is uncommonly conspicuous in international diplomatic correspondence where it functions on the highest level. Together with the recurrence of the office of king, it confirms a structural consistency within the distinct political organisation of Alašīya during the 14th–13th centuries BC, with networks of power and dispersed centres of authority in the land.

Discussion

We have seen that many Cypriot communities were variably influenced by the eastern world with which they became increasingly entangled from the mid-2nd millennium and that that world possessed a range of political systems in which there was a strong tradition of multiple centres of power. Schloen (2001) has put the patriarchal household at the heart of these political systems. Major institutions we refer to as “palaces” and “temples” were mainly organised along the metaphor of the household. Relationships between these institutional households were framed in terms of kinship, rather than the rational bureaucratic terminology most often used in archaeological and epigraphic reconstructions (Ur 2010). Thus the use of titles like “father” and “brother” were deployed knowledgeably in the Amarna texts because they conformed to the endogenous conceptions of the basic organisation of society (Schloen 2001, 257–261). That organisation crystallised with the ascendancy of Amorite kin groups across Syro-Mesopotamia in the early 2nd millennium BC. At the risk of over-generalisation, Wossink (2009, 119–137) usefully outlines the way in which shifting identities were negotiated in this emergence, how Amorite elite identity structured an international, long-lasting world of kin groups, how agro-pastoralism involving caprines and textiles played such an important role, and factionalism, especially tribal, remained one of its characteristics. There is no evidence to suggest that these formative developments also occurred on Cyprus.

In trying to assess what local factors are likely to have come into play when Cypriot sub-groups adapted oriental modes of behaviour, it is important to characterise, however sketchily, the likely organisation of the communities to which they belonged. As Netting remarked, “.....political development takes place internally and voluntarily rather than by imposition or wholesale borrowing from neighbouring groups, and ... the main lines of development and channels for change are prefigured in existing institutions and patterns of behaviour....” (Netting 1972, 232). What were those existing configurations?

Island society differed fundamentally from mainland neighbours in many ways. Here I mention just two aspects. Instead of an emphasis on urbanism and pastoralism involving caprines, early 2nd millennium Cypriot communities were small-scale and still gave prominence to deer exploitation, having also recently taken up plough agriculture. The animal economy was traditionally, and perhaps uniquely in this part of the world, focussed on the Mesopotamian fallow deer (Wasse 2007). A special deer-hunting camp is attested in the 3rd millennium (Webb *et al.* 2009). Even with the diversification of the animal economy in the earlier 2nd millennium, fallow deer remained prominent, with per capita meat yields as common as caprines at Middle Bronze Age Marki, the site with the largest analysed faunal assemblage of the period (Croft 2006, 279). As is evident from the depictions of deer on vases, the focus on hunting and deer played a significant social role (*e.g.* Morris 1985, 185–189, 265–271). Also, unlike the Near East where urbanism and stratified society were well established, the social landscape during the Early-Middle Cypriot period consisted of rural, loosely integrated settlements, with positions of leadership, but no obvious institutionalised hierarchies. There is general consensus that prior to the LBA Cyprus consisted of kin-based associations in which the potential for social stratification was unrealised (Keswani 2004, 146–150; Frankel forthcoming).

The demographic shift to coastal localities especially in the south and east in the mid-2nd millennium was a proactive attempt by households and perhaps whole communities to take advantage of increasing long-distance exchange (Keswani 2004, 154–155; Knapp 2008, 134–139; exchanges: Maguire 2009; Crewe in press). To judge by the social distance between buildings in the earliest phases at Enkomi and the replacement of cemetery burial by house-related burial, pre-existing community cohesion was loosened in favour of individual households in this transformation (Keswani 2004, 157–158). The change to intra-mural burial is particularly striking at Enkomi, but it is hardly unique. Indeed, it is widely attested with the founding of urban centres in the Ancient Near East and the consequent strengthening of the role of separate households within society (Laneri 2007, 261–264). As just noted, the earliest settlement at Enkomi consisted of dispersed co-residential structures, with by far the most imposing located at the “Fortress”. In

general terms, Cowgill asks if such a situation implies “a relatively weak central political authority or multiple hierarchies” (Cowgill 2004, 535). This phase precedes the texts we have referred to, but it is in any case likely that aggregation of kin-based households in these newly established, outward-looking centres would have led to competition for resources and trade partners that required enhanced types of conflict-resolution bodies, that is, the development of new practices, and social and political institutions.

Shaped by kin-based traditions and varied community backgrounds, the institutions probably had a strong corporate character and mercantile basis. But since so much trade was structured around diplomatic relations between royal households in the Ancient Near East, Cypriot coastal communities required something similar if they were to engage successfully with the international world to which they had turned. A representative leader, the king of Alašiya, seems to have been the outcome of this process. Given the conduct of much intersocietal exchange by rulers, it would have been in the interests of regionally-based groups to have become stakeholders in a segmented enterprise. This accounts for the widespread dissemination of luxuries on the island. In other Near Eastern confederated systems, a major role of the king was also for the conduct of foreign relations (*cf.* Fleming 2004, 111–112). The transformation to this overarching system with authoritative leaders may have happened well before the time of the Amarna letters from Alašiya since EA 38 refers to relations between the ancestors of the two corresponding kings. Crewe (2007, 9) allows for it in the late 15th century BC. But Cyprus had no tradition of kingship like the rest of the Ancient Near East, and it had its own varied socio-political traditions which demanded that mainland models be translated into local meaning. Kardulias’ (2007) term “negotiated peripherality,” the idea that peripheral groups actively negotiate the terms of their own incorporation into expanding networks, is useful here. In this reconstruction, the creation of “kingship” as denoted in the textual evidence was at least partly managerial, that is, to expedite independent Cypriot engagement with prevailing systems of exchange. The role may not have been so much control of people’s labour, let alone land (*cf.* Adams 2006), as the right to a proportion of profit by taxes or tribute. If this was the case, it differs considerably from better known pathways to kingship, especially the appointment of “temporary” leaders by community assemblies for military purposes, as with Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia or Roman dictators (*cf.* Jacobsen 1957). There is as yet no evidence in support of other pathways, namely sacred leadership that transcends attachments to specific kin groups or places (*e.g.* Netting 1972), or factional leaders who engage in supra-kin initiatives (*e.g.* Wright 2004).

We have little idea of leaders' internal role, though considerable latitude was probably given to autonomous timber and copper enterprises. Recall the protests of EA 35 mentioned above. It is consistent with much of the archaeological evidence to suggest that, like many corporate states, Alašiya functioned as a devolved polity with decentralised councils and negotiation to resolve conflicts. The absence of splendid palaces, royal seals with named individuals, royal sculptures, monumental royal inscriptions and royal tombs is unsurprising in this reconstruction. The king's domestic power was downplayed and probably masked by a socio-political structure that severely constrained projection of the symbols of authority of a great household within the social network of privileged households on the island. Internally, he was a *primus inter pares*, as many have thought possible, externally a *šarru* whose prized copper and timber allowed him to punch above his weight (e.g. Goren *et al.* 2003, 252; Keswani 2004, 84–85; Fisher 2007, 49–50; Knapp 2008, 335–336). The basis of power was networks of enduring households rather than a unified state apparatus. Such a structure overcomes problems inherent in the bipolar debate of centrally administered state vs. regional polities. The devolved system allowed for the continued importance of kin-based filiation and regional polities as attested in the persistence and widespread occurrence of rich tombs used over successive generations until the LC IIC–IIIA (Keswani 2004, 84–144). Such households probably formed the broad core of resistance to the Near Eastern model of accumulation of power and wealth in the hands of leaders beyond local, socially prescribed limits. In contrast, externally the leader was viewed as a Great King, under whose auspices many (all?) of the more or less independent commercial households of Alašiya were able to engage in international trade.

Although beyond the scope of this paper, investigation of particular building complexes is needed to assess the role of households. For example, individual structures preserve evidence for production of bun-shaped ingots of the types found in shipwrecks, and for small-scale, private coppersmithing, evidence cited by Monroe to contest the existence of a centralised administration for all the island's production and foreign exchange. The Wenamun evidence which he also includes postdates the period considered here (Monroe 2009, 246–247). Diachronic evidence is also significant for monitoring trends and changing fortunes of places. Enkomi's lengthy occupation should provide useful information for this aspect, but only Dikaios sought to investigate chronological depth. It is interesting, therefore, that in his two meaningful exposures he revealed the long-lived histories of two buildings, one in each of Areas I and III. To be sure, there were destructions and re-buildings (Crewe 2007, 158), but the structures retained essentially the same plans, ones that grew and became more elaborate over time. Their evolution suggests that dispersed households expanded and prospered over the centuries, so lending support to the

argument for a household-based, distinct social structure and political culture of Cyprus. Dikaïos' excavations also make clear that the Area III "Fortress" continued to flourish long after all the other forts on the island had ceased to be occupied. While this history sets it apart from those forts, it is not merely a matter of longevity. Its persistence demonstrates the historical reality of an exceptionally successful organisation for the acquisition, production and distribution of copper based in what must have been widely recognised as one of the most important households of LBA Cyprus.

Another of the many problems requiring further investigation is how cohesion was achieved and maintained across such a fragmented political landscape, an issue that concerns the permeable boundaries of Alashiya. This would involve spatial analysis of data, especially linked to formalised practices resulting from elite social practices along the lines of Adams' 2006 study of Neopalatial Crete. In the absence of walled towns until late in the LBA, its animating ideology seems to have worked by consensus rather than coercion. Since unity needs to be continually produced, sustainable mechanisms for imparting dominant values and ideas must have existed in the face of a segmented polity which by definition would be vulnerable to collapse. Ritual is often regarded as a means to foster integration in archaic states (*e.g.* Blanton 1998, 163–166). There is ample evidence in LBA Cyprus for the increasingly important role of temples and ritual paraphernalia, suggesting that ritual played a part in sustaining order and integration (Knapp 1986; Webb 1999). There is also some evidence for the existence of arenas of power.

Many of the most imposing structures of LBA Cyprus have open, three-sided courts suitable for the assembly of large numbers of people (*e.g.* Dikaïos 1969, pls. 267–269, 271–272). The most impressive Π-shaped example is Building II at *Alassa-Paliothaverna* (Hadjisavvas 2003). Its 440 sq m court, larger than the 360 sq m central court of the Cretan palace at Kato Zakro, is likely to have functioned as a venue for an assembly that could expand beyond its open side. The space exceeds the needs of an extended household and so probably served at times as a public hall (Fisher 2007, 292, and the isovist 390, fig. 7.31). Numerous bulk storage pithoi in and beside it symbolised wealth and so it may have been an arena for tribute giving or for redistribution of commodities. In any case, its openness suggests a forum suitable for the gathering of many people and formal processes of consultation, one that contrasts sharply with the sequestered courts of palaces on the mainland. Since large-scale built environments are constitutive of political authority, the enclosed courts on the mainland materialise a more exclusive political landscape, the open space of *Alassa-Paliothaverna* a receptiveness consistent with the expression of a more inclusive ideology (*cf.* Smith 2003). We still do not know if it was used as a supra-local centre, nor the nature of the integrative ideology that may have found

expression here. And, as Fisher notes, the absence of spaces for large-scale gatherings at Enkomi sets its organisation apart from other centres (Fisher 2007, 290–291).

Faced with the uncomfortable recurrence of evidence for states with devolved powers, scholars such as Blanton (1998) and Feinman (2000) have tried to categorise this diversity. Yet, inconsistencies between archaeological evidence and the trait lists of these categories abound (e.g. Routledge 2004). Alašiya, as outlined here, also fails to meet the requirements of two major types of strategies for leadership in complex polities: network and corporate. The latter is characterised by the collective, non-personalised type of society which emphasises public constructions, large cooperative labour tasks and suppressed economic differentiation (Feinman 2000, 155–160). These faceless systems are at odds with the existence of named rulers of Alašiya and significant disparities of wealth in tombs, distinct features of a highly individualised, network society. Rather than attempt to slot LBA Cyprus into pre-defined socio-political categories, I have sought to show how indigenous society, far from being passively influenced by eastern models, accommodated the alien concept of inter-regional leadership, aka *šarru*. Having committed much of its economy to overseas trade, especially with the Near East, the means to secure that economy favoured the adoption of kingship. The model was not absolute rule but one in which households and regional authorities were intimately involved in the structures of power, one that inhibited exclusionary strategies of personalised leadership and, above all, one that ensured the persistence of distinctive island traditions and regional histories (cf. Manning and De Mita 1997, 109–110, 114).

Towards the end of the 13th century BC, the king of Alašiya, *Kušmešuša*, is regarded as the superior of the king of Ugarit and is capable of sending copper ingots just like his predecessors in the previous century (Malbran-Labat 1999). Prior to the discovery of the *Kušmešuša* text, many scholars claimed the dissolution of a centralised state in favour of the existence of regional polities in the 13th century BC (e.g. Knapp 1997, 66; 2006, 52; Manning 1998; Peltenburg 1996, 28, 36; Steel 2004, 181–186; Webb 1999, 4, 305; 2005, 177). The evidence comes from the growth of wealthy centres at sites such as Maroni, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios and Alassa-Palioaverna. But wealth does not necessarily equate with political independence. There is probably no need to treat them as totally autonomous, even if dispersed establishments provided opportunities for resistance and withdrawal. Against the enticements of independence were the advantages of a royal system that facilitated access to foreign markets necessary to support local elites and their economies. So, in spite of the prosperity and control mechanisms evident in regional centres, a king of Alašiya is still in power at the end of the 13th century BC and he still dealt with foreign relations. But with the fall or transformation of so many

interacting palace-based organisations about 1200 BC, the role of the Alašīyan king as overseer of most foreign relations could not be sustained as before. Just as elsewhere in the Near East where fragmentation of large political entities ensued, in Cyprus this led to the disappearance of the Alašīyan polity and the emergence of smaller political units that we see in its Iron Age kingdoms.

Summary

The premise of this paper is that limited textual evidence pertaining to LBA Cyprus (Alašīya) and material culture patterning on the island allow a coherent set of inferences about the existence of a distinctive complex polity. Behind the conventionalities of diplomacy-speak in the texts there are intimations of a regionally devolved system of political authority on the island consistent with the absence of secure signs for central government. This devolved organisation is poorly understood, but assessment of eastern models and the application by islanders of a strategy of negotiated peripherality provide insights into possible dynamics of the formative process. Consideration of eastern models for this process is justified on the evidence for the widespread acceptance in Cyprus of high-value eastern goods and symbols, both in imported and emulated form. Rather than the hierarchically and centrally organised state model, it is argued that the “networked households” model noted at Ugarit and elsewhere in Syria was adapted by the diverse households, or factions, from different communities that moved to expanding coastal emporia. The incentive for accepting the institution of a *primus inter pares*, referred to in the texts as a “king”, was to ensure and expand the successful export of high value copper and other insular resources by joining the existing framework of the international gift exchange system. That system required a “king”, and, as far as Alašīya was concerned, it enabled merchants to operate effectively under the aegis of the Alašīyan leader. No doubt merchants worked independently too, but the trade in metals was especially the concern of elites of the highest rank. The reconstruction of devolved authority, theoretically grounded in critical network and patrimonial household models, largely overcomes the problems inherent in overly rigid views of what constitutes an early state, in the debate of such bipolar opposites as hierarchy and heterarchy, and in the disjuncture that is often felt to exist between the Alašīya texts and the lack of compelling evidence for a unified state on the island. While the model of networked households provides an alternative hypothesis for the socio-political organisation of LBA Cyprus, we remain especially poorly informed about the evolving ideological and political mechanics of cohesion within Alašīya, its boundaries and the proportion of external trade under kingly auspices.

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Note

1 Special abbreviations in this paper:

CAD: Gelb, I. *et al.* (1956), *The Assyrian Dictionary*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

EA: Amarna letter number in Moran 1992.

RS: Field number for tablets and other finds recovered by the Mission archéologique française de Ras Shamra-Ougarit.

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EXPANDING AND CHALLENGING HORIZONS IN THE CHALCOLITHIC: NEW RESULTS FROM SOUSKIOU-*LAONA*

David A. Sewell

Introduction

The complex of Chalcolithic cemeteries at Souskiou is one of the best known sites of the Erimi culture of the 4th millennium BC (see Peltenburg *et al.* 2006 for fuller discussion). They contain many unique objects and artefacts but are however somewhat of an enigma, positioned on a spur of the Dhiarizos valley and associated with what has been regarded as a small and insignificant settlement.

“The small size and the unprepossessing location of the Souskiou settlement would not lead one to expect such a concentration of exotica or rarities.”

Crewe *et al.* 2005

Since 2005 excavations by the University of Edinburgh under the direction of Edgar Peltenburg have endeavoured to cast some light on this settlement (Peltenburg *et al.* 2006 for first preliminary report). The results of these excavations have been highly rewarding, if challenging, and this paper presents some preliminary findings from the excavations. These fundamentally call into question the previously widely accepted importance of the cemeteries versus the settlement. The new evidence indicates that the settlement was quite large in size, with multi-phase occupation and building construction hierarchy, but that it has suffered much greater impact from the vagaries of time and erosion. It was a vibrant, complex community in which the art of picrolite jewellery manufacture, found so frequently in the cemetery assemblage, was widely practiced. This paper will concentrate on the Operation D (Op. D) excavations from the 2008 and 2009 seasons on the west spur of the site (see *Figs. 2.1–2* for location). The excavations have also started to reveal how the inhabitants dealt and interacted with the geology, landscape and topography of their chosen location. The extramural placement of the cemeteries is possibly as much due to these factors as to a significant theoretical change in burial practice.

Location and setting of the Souskiou Complex

The Souskiou complex of settlement and cemeteries is concentrated on a spur formed by the confluence of the Dhiarizos and Argakin Vathin rivers in the south west of Cyprus. The spur itself is designated by the toponym *Laona* and consists of the settlement and a single cemetery 300m apart. The spur forms a hogs-back hill overlooking the Vathin river to the south and the Dhiarizos river valley to the northwest. The Dhiarizos side is steep with precipitous falls of 100m down to the valley floor. The other side is slightly gentler and largely follows the line of the Vathin stream. Two profiles through the hill are shown in *Fig. 2.2*. On both sides of the spur from the 140m contour line down to the valley beds the slope is very steep and sheer and there is unlikely to be intact archaeology within its original position. On the south side of the Vathin river directly opposite the settlement there are three further cemeteries eroding from a limestone ridge that forms the Vathyrkakas plateau.

The underlying geology consists of interleaving beds of tabular limestone and softer marls whilst the top of the *Laona* east ridge is capped by a paleo-beach of small pebbles and gravels with occasional boulders. On top of the west ridge is a capping of harder kaskalia limestone. Erosion is active with significant colluvial deposits in places and erosion gullies. There is no current agricultural activity although the presence of two olive trees and semi-wild grasses hints at relatively recent activity, probably from the abandoned village of Souskiou. Goat and sheep herds are active on the hillside as are hunters and the tabular stone beds are sometimes used as a convenient quarry source.

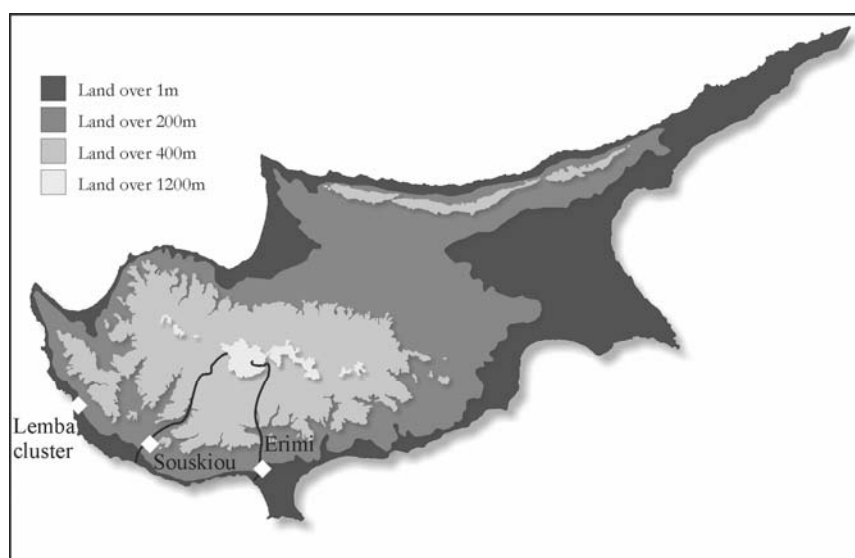


Figure 2.1: Map of Cyprus showing locations of the Souskiou and Erimi sites and of the Lemba Cluster. The Dhiarizos and Kouris Rivers are also shown.

The Dhiarizos river valley is a major communication route inland to the Troodos massif. There has been major progradation by the Dhiarizos river and the complex would have been at no great distance from the sea, possibly less than one kilometre. Behind the Vathyrkakas cemeteries is an extensive area of relatively flat land forming a plateau. But longer distance travel in an easterly direction would probably have been more difficult as the land quickly becomes hilly with deeply incised ravines for some considerable distance, effectively forming a barrier until the Kouris river valley and the site of Erimi is reached. To the west however the land opens up to the Ktima lowlands which would have been relatively easy to navigate and in this direction lies the Lemba/Kissonerga Chalcolithic cluster at a distance of 20km.

The survey and excavation has designated four broad zones or operations of interest (*Fig. 2.2*). Op. A is on the south slopes of the eastern ridge, Op. B on the top of the east ridge, Op. C is the *Laona* cemetery and Op. D the west ridge.

Previous work

To date archaeological research has concentrated on the Souskiou cemeteries and in particular those on the Vathyrkakas side of the ravine. The results of disparate excavations by a number of teams is summarised and reviewed in the recent work edited by Peltenburg (2006). Rescue work

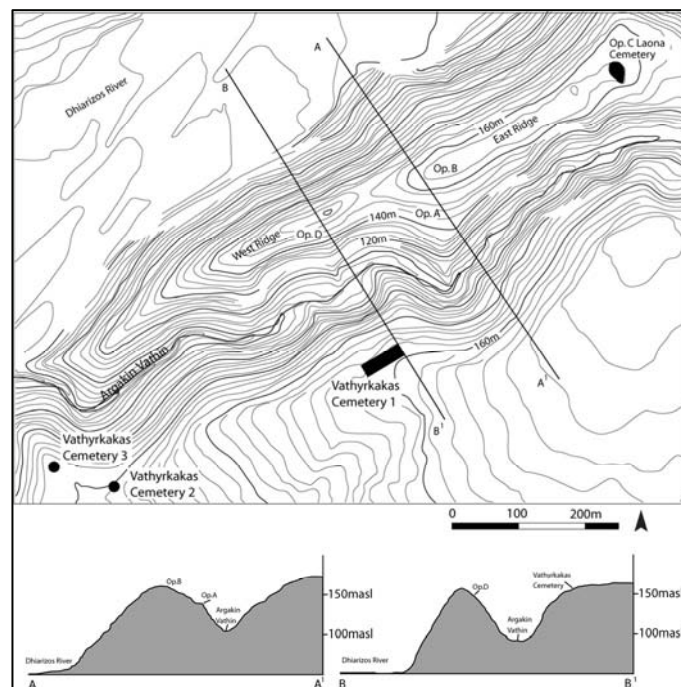


Figure 2.2: Local topography of the Souskiou Complex. The East and West ridges of the settlement area are indicated as well as the general location of Operations A-D. The cemetery areas are indicated in black. Two profiles through the hillside are shown below. In profile A-A1 there is a steep slope down to the Dhiarizos valley but the top of the hill at Op. B is a relatively gentle slope. The plateau of Op. A is clearly visible. In profile B-B1 the hillside is steep on both sides of the hill and Op. D clings precariously to the side of the hill. The valley of the Argakin Vathin is a much more pronounced U shape indicating that more of the hillside has either eroded or been lost through landslip.

was also undertaken by a team from the University of Edinburgh at Op. C, the *Laona* cemetery, and the results from these excavations are summarised in Crewe *et al.* 2005. The settlement was first identified in 1951 by Typhonas A Koulermou and the custodian of Kouklia, George Pastos (Illife and Mitford 1952). There then followed two surveys, firstly by Hadjisavvas (1977) and then by the Canadian Palaipaphos Survey project (CPSP) in 1991 (Rupp *et al.* 1992). The CPSP suggested that the settlement occupied 1.4ha on the southern slopes of the *Laona* ridge and that the pottery evidence indicated the period of occupation was mainly Middle Chalcolithic (MChal) with the possibility of some Late Chalcolithic (LChal) presence (Rupp *et al.* 1992, 297–300). In 1992 trial excavations took place under the auspices of the University of Edinburgh in Op. A. These confirmed the existence of a Chalcolithic building dating to the MChal period (Peltenburg 1993). The current series of excavations began in 2005 and this paper will focus on results from the 2008 and 2009 excavation seasons.

Summary of results for Operation A

Op. A was the first area targeted for excavation in 1992, and consists of a small plateau approximately 30m by 40m and at 140m above sea level. The excavations have shown that there is a boundary wall that surrounds the plateau on two sides and that this has probably helped to limit the erosion in this area. On the evidence of artefacts found within the boundary wall itself it is probably dated to the Roman period or later. There is a considerable build up of colluvium and in places over 2m of colluvium had to be removed to reach the in-situ Chalcolithic archaeology. A number of Chalcolithic roundhouses have been excavated. In places buildings were stratified on top of each other, although none are complete as erosion has removed much of the southern, downslope side. As is often the case with Chalcolithic buildings, there were a number of artefacts left on the floors of the buildings. There are also substantial expanses of open areas where the inhabitants had levelled the bedrock and manipulated the geology to form flatter working surfaces. Here patches of burning and items such as querns and rubbers were found. On the evidence of initial study of the pottery the area can be largely dated to the MChal period.

Summary of Operation B

Op. B is situated on the top of the eastern ridge. Two Chalcolithic roundhouses have been discovered in this area. Again the effects of erosion are in evidence and only crescent sections of the roundhouses have been recovered, preserved on their northern side. These two buildings are in stark contrast to the river boulder construction of those found in Op. A. Here the buildings are made of flat tabular limestone laid in courses with much greater attention paid to their

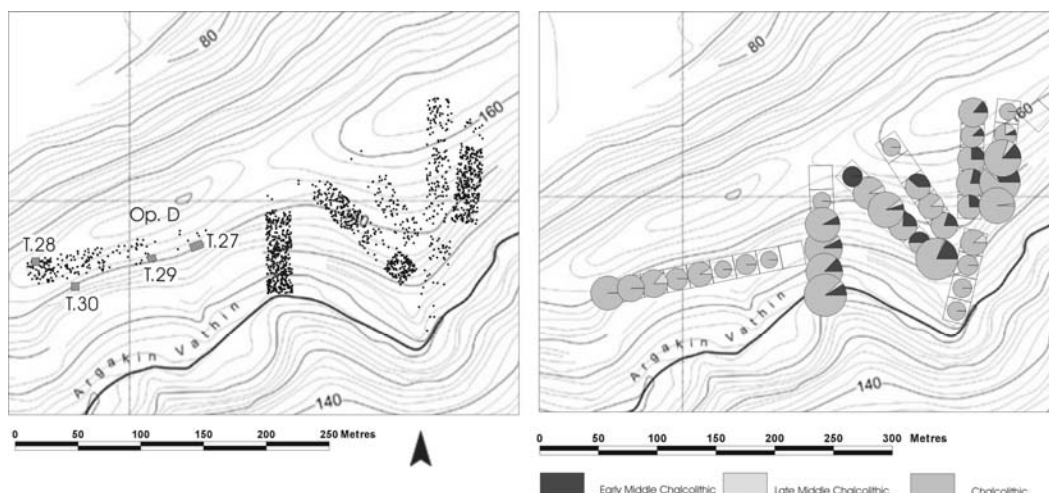


Figure 2.3: Results from the 2005 survey of the site prior to excavation. In the left image each dot indicates a single sherd. It can be seen that the tract in the Op. D area produced relatively few results and this is particularly the case in the area of T.27 and T.29. This is probably because they ran slightly behind the surviving houses but also because of the severe scarp in this area that swept finds away very quickly. The four trenches in the Op. D area are indicated. In the right image the sherds from the survey are shown as pie charts with the size of the pie indicating the quantity of sherds recovered. The sherds were sorted into sub-phases where they could be identified. This shows that there is early and late MChal presence in Op. A and B whilst Op. D has no apparent evidence of early MChal occupation.

construction. As with Op. A there was significant cultural material in-situ which comprised a number of artefacts including SL554, a coiled copper ornament (Peltenburg *et al.* 2006, 98, fig. 21). One of these buildings contained a number of burial pits cut into it. Analyses of these features and their contents will help to elucidate the relationship between the settlement and the cemeteries. The pottery in this area, as with Op. A, has only undergone initial examination at this stage but the suggestion is that the pottery is later in date and is late MChal or possibly transitional LChal.

Operation D

As noted in Peltenburg *et al.* 2006 a number of pedestrian survey transects were undertaken at the site before excavation took place. Most of these were concentrated in the area between Op. A and Op. B. Transect G, however, took place on the south slopes of the west ridge (Fig. 2.3). This suggested that there was a possibility of a smaller but highly eroded locus of activity at the end of the west ridge, clearly separate from the main site area. As part of the fieldwork of 2008 I undertook a coring exercise to ascertain the depth of soil across the site, and as part of this exercise the west ridge was re-visited.

On walking over the west ridge four particular areas of interest were noted. In two places, fresh sherds were seen eroding from the small scarp generated by a goat track. These were lying flat and were on a level plane unlike the normal slopewash material. In conjunction with the



Figure 2.4: Picrolite figurine SL1692 found on the surface in the Op. D area. (Photo by E. Peltenburg).

sherds, ephemeral lines of stones crossed the goat path. The arc and construction of these lines of stones suggested that they might represent Chalcolithic roundhouses. In another area, half of an exquisitely produced picrolite figurine (SL1692) was found lying on the surface (*Fig. 2.4*). A series of hollows and cuts in the kafkalla at the top of the west ridge suggested the presence of graves since they were similar to those seen eroding from the edges of the *Laona* and Vathyrkakas cemeteries. Finally a fourth locus of interest was identified when a particular concentration of picrolite debitage was noted eroding in one small area, suggesting a Chalcolithic picrolite working area.

It should be noted that all of these signs were quite ephemeral and could easily have been missed even by a relatively experienced survey team. Four seasons of experience of the Souskiou site conditions, the work of the local goats as well as luck were all significant factors. The following year there were considerable winter rains and hence ground visibility was much reduced due to vegetation growth, so it is doubtful if these loci would have been so readily observed. Excavation has now revealed some of the characteristics of these new areas and they are presented in greater detail below.

Trench 27

Trench 27 was initially located by the presence of two or three fresh sherds lying on a goat track and two or three stones crossing the same track about 7m apart. It was felt that these could represent the arc of a Chalcolithic roundhouse, with cultural material lying on the floor which had fallen a few centimetres on to the track and so were unabraded. The slope in the area was quite steep and there was a major scarp on the other side of the goat track, which made conditions challenging. Excavations immediately came down on to a disarticulated stone rubble layer. When this was removed the preserved arc of Building 850 was revealed. On its western edge there was an accumulation of stone-work which may represent another building. The trench was therefore extended, revealing Building 915 attached to the larger Building 850. In 2009 the excavation of Building 915 was completed and it was found to link to a third structure, Building 984. The plan of the preserved sections of the buildings is shown in *Fig. 2.5*. All three buildings were constructed of river boulders roughly aligned in courses. Building 915 had at least six courses of

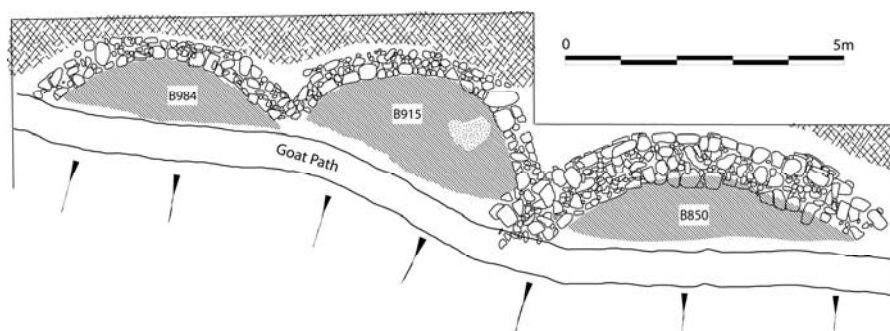


Figure 2.5: Plan of Trench 27. The conjoined building complex of B850, B915 and B984.

stones and a large quantity of rubble inside it, suggesting that this building would have been substantially constructed of stone, and was not just a stone socle footing with a pisé superstructure. A number of these stones were broken and reused sections of larger stone tools and artefacts such as basins, querns and rubbers suggesting that there was an earlier settlement area from which they came.

The diameter of Building 850 is difficult to estimate, because of the erosion, but it would have been in the order of 7 to 9m. On the internal preserved face of wall 845 thick plaster was found still adhering to the wall and a quantity of it found collapsed onto the remaining segment of the floor. Building 915 had a small plaster feature set off to one side. This was possibly a hearth. Building 984 contained less rubble than Building 915 and its superstructure may have had fewer courses of stone work.

The three buildings were largely devoid of objects compared to other buildings found in the settlement, the one obvious exception being Building 984. Here, the smashed sections of a large mortar, SL2044, were found on the floor (*Fig. 2.6*). The bottom of this mortar had worn through and the way that the object had broken into over 15 pieces suggested that it was deliberately discarded.

Trench 28

Located on the top of the west ridge, the geology in this area consists of a hard kafkalla limestone rather than the tabular limestone beds or marly layers. Within the side and scarp of this ridge a number of hollowed out pits were observed. Although it is possible these were natural phenomena, perhaps created by water or wind erosion, they do resemble the pit cuts found at the edges of the cemetery areas. Trench 28 was opened to try and clarify these features. Removing the topsoil exposed a series of cuts and pits but unfortunately none could be conclusively stated as belonging to a grave and no *in situ* bone was found. A number of the pits could, however, be



Figure 2.6: Mortar SL2044 smashed on the floor of B984. (Photo by E. Peltenburg).

positively attributed to the Chalcolithic. These findings further confirm the extent of the settlement area and that it consisted of open areas as well as buildings with the possibility of graves.

Trench 29

On approximately the same contour line of 140m above sea-level as Trench 27 a similar cluster of two or three sherds with little abrasion and lying flat were noted

in the slight scarp cut by a goat track. The arrangement of sherds was contained within what was seen as a faint discontinuous arc of stones. Excavation revealed the remains of a Chalcolithic roundhouse with an arc of stones, seven courses high at its greatest extent, though only approximately 15% of the building was actually preserved and the rest had eroded down the hillside. A thin sliver of floor was preserved with some pottery, ground-stone artefacts and a burnt area that may represent a hearth. The assemblage was consistent with Trench 27 and is preliminarily dated to the late MChal or transitional LChal period.

Trench 30

This small area of erosional wash is of major importance as it has within it a large amount of debitage from picrolite artefact manufacture. There are not only waste flakes but also raw nodules, figurine blanks and a finished pendant. Careful excavation and sieving has now revealed over 40 pieces within this area. The initial picrolite pieces were found either lying on the surface or in modern wash layers. The main source of the artefacts though appears to be a slightly mixed redeposited natural that probably represents debitage from an exposed working area being washed away and mixing with slopewash relatively soon after deposition. This is not unlikely, given that we know from Op. A that large areas of natural bedrock were exposed during the Chalcolithic to use as working areas.

Discussion of new work

The main conclusions that can be drawn from this work are firstly that the settlement area is far larger than previously envisaged and secondly that the amount of erosion is possibly greater than had been envisaged before and has destroyed large amounts of the site. A conservative estimate

for the settlement size of the new area in Op. D is around 1ha. Combined with the previous estimate of the settlement size of 1.4ha this would give a new site size of 2.4ha. The most generous estimate taking into account those areas in between our known concentrations with buildings would suggest a maximum size of 4ha. It should be noted though that this does not include the cemetery complexes. This compares to Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* at around 12ha, though as can be seen in Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, fig. 16 this is probably somewhat more variable and sees a major expansion in Kissonerga Period 4 LChal.

Using GIS analyses with the locations of the new trenches taken into consideration, then viewsheds generated for the settlement area produce quite different results. Whereas previously the main viewshed focus was on the Argakin Vathin stream and the Vathyrkakas side of the gulley, the focus is now widened to include the Dhiarizos valley looking north to the Troodos, south to the coast and west to the Ktima lowlands.

Picrolite production appears to be distributed across the site and is not limited to one specific area or period. The ubiquity of this material is in sharp contrast to most Chalcolithic sites and suggests that the site was a major, if not *the* major, production centre for finished picrolite objects. This also means that it was a major consumer of picrolite in its raw form and we need to reconsider the procurement strategy of the raw material.

Reconsidering the landscape of the Souskiou complex

The recognition that the site has been severely affected by erosion should make us look again at the way that the modern viewer sees the wider Souskiou landscape. The site is most often approached from the direction of a dirt road that links Kouklia and the abandoned village of Souskiou. If one leaves the car at the Souskiou-*Laona* cemetery there is then a significant walk to the settlement area down the spur. There are views of the Dhiarizos but this is a tamed river, and there is no running water in sight. Likewise the Argakin Vathin stream is now nearly always still. The sea appears some kilometres in the distance, and the erosion of the site reinforces the apparent desolation and isolation of its location.

A re-analysis of the site in its Chalcolithic landscape suggests that the site was a far more favourable location in the period. The Argakin Vathin stream would have been much higher and therefore closer to the site and probably provided perennial water. The Dhiarizos river valley would have provided excellent agricultural resources and the mouth of the river would have been much closer, facilitating communication within Cyprus and possibly abroad as well. There may possibly have been a marsh or delta area nearby providing another resource-rich habitat. The plateau behind the Vathyrkakas cemeteries would have provided another resource zone and

possibly good land for deer, pigs and caprines. The river valley itself provided communication inland and the site offers an impressive vantage point. In her examination of Erimi, Bolger highlighted five factors which influenced the choice of site (1985, 41); all of these factors can equally be applied to Souskiou.

- 1) Proximity to the Kouris River, for water supply and essential raw materials.
- 2) Proximity to perennial springs.
- 3) Proximity to adequate areas of arable land, and perhaps to various soil types which could foster economic diversity.
- 4) Location within a vegetative regime suitable for grazing.
- 5) Command of a good view and vantage point.

The two major factors that made the Souskiou complex stand out in the archaeological record were the extra-mural location of its cemeteries and the apparent wealth that was buried there (Peltenburg 2006; Keswani 2004; 2005). If we now accept the size and importance of the site then this can explain the apparent wealth but it does not explain why the cemeteries were placed where they were. I believe that their location was dictated by the geology of the site which was actually or potentially unstable; this made the construction of burial pits within the confines of the settlement inherently dangerous. The focus of the manipulation of the geology at the settlement appears to be in providing level areas of bedrock, possibly digging out the limestone seams to help achieve this. The construction of pit burials under the buildings would directly counteract these measures. Once the decision had been made to place the burials elsewhere then the choice of hard kafkalla rock becomes more obvious. Combined with their visibility within the landscape as viewed from the settlement they were as close to intra-mural as was possible. Through time the burial pits start to reflect the social stratification of the living that might not have been possible if they had remained within the settlement area and confined to individual households, and it could be argued that this reaches its zenith in Tomb 73 (Peltenburg 2006).

The uneven distribution of burial remains and the predominance of adult burials at Souskiou-*Vathyrkakas* could be explained by the geological instability of the site. The area containing the majority of child burials might simply have been lost to landslip and earthquake. The trench 27 complex of buildings is cut back into the bedrock and it may be that this indicates a desire for greater stability for their buildings. The current topography in front of Trenches 27, 29 and 30 is different to that in front of Op. A and suggests that there has been a landslip in this area, rather than simply representing erosion through undercutting by the Argakin Vathin.

Souskiou as a regional centre

If we accept the argument of the new data that Souskiou was of greater significance than had previously been realised, how should we view it within the wider context of the Cypriot Chalcolithic? Bolger (1987, 70 and 1989) included the Souskiou complex within the western group of Chalcolithic sites and highlighted our lack of knowledge about it but noted its separateness from the other two clusters in western Cyprus, Kissonerga and Meladhia. I would propose that the Souskiou complex is the major site within a third western Cyprus grouping centred on the Dhiarizos Valley (see Rupp *et al.* 1992 and Sørensen and Rupp 1993 for location of sites within the CPSP area). In essence Souskiou assumes the same role as the type site of Erimi within the Kouris Valley.

Knapp (1993, 88) lists six criteria that he sees as being important for the incipient rise of social complexity on Cyprus:

- Specialised/intensified production
- Control over/access to basic resources
- Demographic growth/centralisation
- Social ranking/stratification
- Regional/interregional exchange systems
- External contacts/external demand

We can make a strong case that the Souskiou complex meets virtually all of these criteria and adds to the growing picture of social and site complexity within the MChal. Recent excavations at Politiko-Kokkinorotsos have revealed a hunting station or temporary camp specialising in butchery and hunting (Webb *et al.* 2009). This suggests that we should no longer be thinking of MChal sites as having a standard toolkit of objects, building practices and subsistence economy. In terms of Souskiou we should possibly be examining Chalcolithic sites in the area as temporary or specialist sites directly linked to a Souskiou regional centre.

Picrolite and specialised production

The re-assessment of Souskiou means that we should re-examine some of the existing literature that discusses the site. This is particularly relevant with regard to one of the most important object types, the soft stone picrolite and the pendants and figurines in to which it was made (see Peltenburg 1991; Vagnetti 1991; Xenophontos 1991). Through a detailed hands-on knowledge of Cypriot geology and a visual inspection of the river valleys of Cyprus, Xenophontos stated in 1991 that only two rivers, the Kouris and Karyotis, contain waterworn occurrences of picrolite. He further suggests that these rivers are the only sources of this material during the Neolithic and

Chalcolithic periods, and that “From the lower reaches of those two streams men traded the raw material to all other parts of the island” (Xenophontos 1991, 137).

However, the new data from Souskiou indicates other possible means of picrolite procurement. Firstly, some of the raw picrolite material from Souskiou does not appear to be waterworn. Rather, they appear to be flat slabs of picrolite that may instead have been quarried. Secondly, the sheer amount of material from Souskiou suggests that not all of it would have come through Erimi and the Kouris valley in some form of exchange mechanism. There are now over 300 pieces of picrolite recovered from the settlement, nearly 90 from the *Laona* cemetery and over 100 from the Vathyrkakas cemeteries.

“The exceptional quality and number of picrolites at Souskiou—a settlement that remained small even if some of it has been eroded by the Vathyrkakas River—may be due to source capture, or to its role as a special redistribution centre along a frontier, or as a ceremonial centre.”

Peltenburg 1991, 118

With the data available at the time Peltenburg tried to explain the apparently anomalous scenario of picrolite artefacts from the cemeteries and a small site with no known picrolite (1991). A ceremonial centre, for example, where artefacts were brought in from other sites, would explain the apparent wealth of the cemetery and the apparent dearth in the settlement. However, the evidence from the recent excavations presents a different picture, with the main anomalous point about the entire Souskiou complex being the quantity of picrolite from the cemetery *and* settlement rather than the dichotomy between them.

In his summary Peltenburg suggests that the “Production of picrolite ornaments remained un-specialised in pre-Bronze Age Cyprus” (1991, 117). Perhaps we should reconsider this in light of the recent Souskiou evidence which seems to suggest that the settlement did in fact specialise in picrolite object production. As demonstrated by the Vathyrkakas cemetery picrolite artefacts, this was a specialisation which celebrated variety rather than conformity (Peltenburg 2006, 167). The BASOR 1991 special issue from which the Peltenburg, Vagnetti and Xenophontos articles came is now over 20 years old and it is likely that new theories of procurement and exchange will be formulated by the time the new excavations have finished. The occurrence of faience and metal within the Souskiou tombs and now metal within the Op. B settlement is also a significant factor. Peltenburg discusses a number of options and issues regarding the possible source of these artefacts, whether on Cyprus or off the island but none is clear and convincing (Peltenburg 2006, 168). Taking a lead from the recent results from Politiko-Kokkinorotsos, then maybe we should

be concentrating on looking for a temporary specialised camp within the picrolite-bearing area of the Troodos to help answer these questions.

Conclusions

It can be seen that the recent excavations and reconsideration of the landscape have led to a major re-interpretation of the Souskiou complex in terms of its size, complexity and role in MChal Cyprus. Previous assumptions about the small size of the settlement area have been revised. The settlement area has been confirmed on the East and West ridges and a conservative estimate of the total size, excluding cemeteries, would be around 4ha. We can now see that there was a considerable variability of features within the settlement area, with open working areas, single buildings and connected complexes all being uncovered, as well as a variety of building construction types.

The reassessment of the settlement within the Chalcolithic landscape has demonstrated that it occupied a nexus position that allowed it to exploit a number of landscape zones. This position facilitated the incipient rise of social complexity and it is probable that Souskiou occupied a significant role within its own region but also within the wider MChal milieu. The Souskiou complexes' procurement strategy and re-distribution of picrolite is a good demonstration of this role. It is likely that contrary to previous thought some of the picrolite was sourced directly from the picrolite outcrops in the Troodos rather than as waterworn pebbles that had passed through the hands of the site of Erimi.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Eddie Peltenburg for his encouragement in attending POCA 2009. The interpretation of the excavation results are though entirely my own. As I did at POCA I would like to dedicate it to him in appreciation of his work and his commitment to Cyprus and his encouragement of younger scholars. I would like to thank him and Diane Bolger for discussions regarding the work at Souskiou. As with everything, this is for my sons.

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THE NECROPOLIS AT KISSONERGA-*AMMOUDHIA*: NEW CERAMIC EVIDENCE FROM THE EARLY-MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IN WESTERN CYPRUS

Lisa Graham

The prehistoric Bronze Age in western Cyprus (c. 2300–1650 BC) can to some extent still be described as a *terra incognita* to archaeologists. While recent excavations in the south and centre of the island have vastly increased our understanding of societies during this period, the west has remained largely unknown. Indeed, it was presumed that the area was largely unpopulated (Catling 1962, 131) due mainly to the lack of White Painted Ware (WP), the definitive ware for the latter part of the period. Surveys and recent excavations have shown that this is not the case, but still little is known about western society at this time. My ongoing PhD research involves the study of ceramics from the cemetery of Kissonerga-*Ammoudhia*, which is one of the few excavated western sites of this period. This paper presents findings from the complete *Ammoudhia* assemblage and discusses how these may contribute to a comprehensive typology and chronology of the Cypriot Bronze Age.

Criteria establishing the chronology of the Cypriot Bronze Age were set by Stewart (1962) and Åström (1972) as part of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, using primarily ceramics from sites in the north excavated in the 1930s such as Vounous and Lapithos (*Fig. 3.1*). These criteria have been used for island-wide contexts until very recently, when excavations in the south and centre such as Sotira-*Kaminoudhia* (Swiny *et al.* 2003), Alambra-*Mouttes* (Coleman *et al.* 1996) and Marki-*Alonia* (Frankel and Webb 1996; 2006) illustrated the particularly regional nature of Cypriot Bronze Age ceramics (Herscher 1981, 80). This regionality has raised questions regarding any pan-Cypriot typologies, as each site appears to have its own peculiarities with several types of Red Polished Ware (RP) described in recent literature. The west is no exception; indeed the ceramics found here show, if anything, even more regional variations, indicating strong local traditions (Graham 2006; 2008).

The modern village of Kissonerga is situated in the Ktima lowlands, approximately 5km north of modern Paphos. The area around Kissonerga has a long history of human occupation,

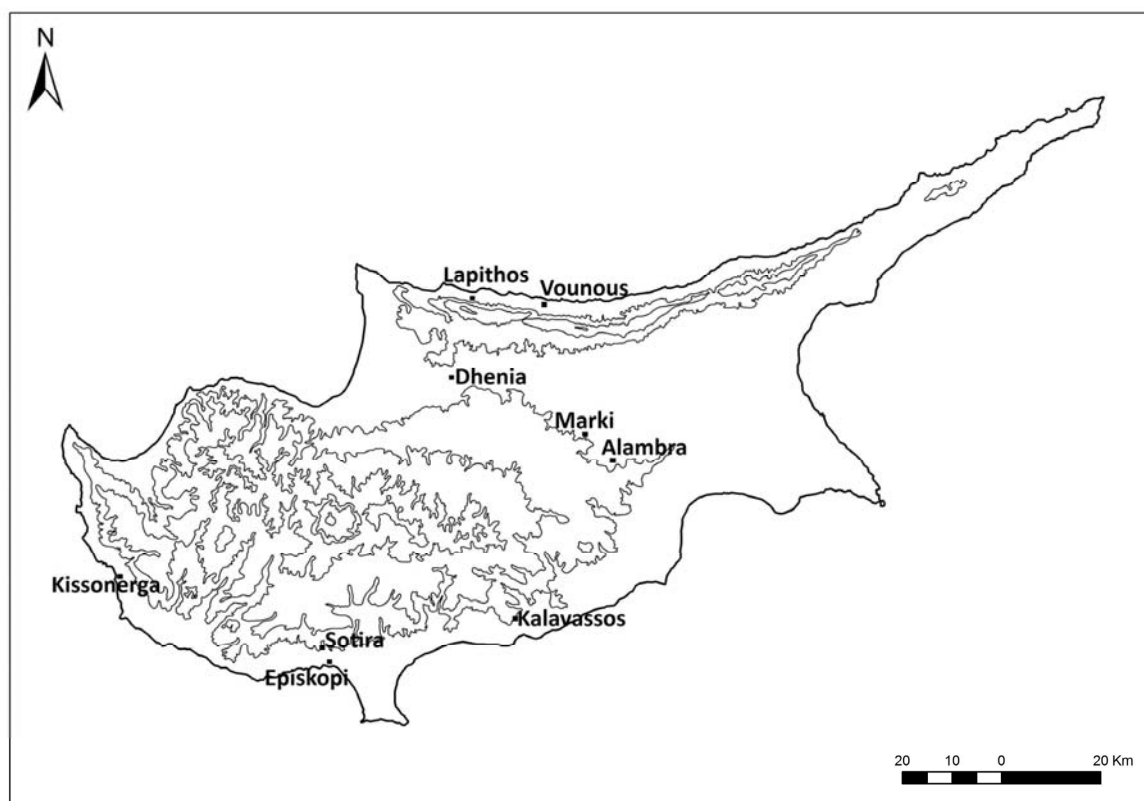


Figure 3.1: Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text.

dating back to the very early Cypro-Pre-Pottery Neolithic B site of *Mylothkia*. The nearby Chalcolithic site of *Mosphilia* is also archaeologically important, being the only known site to show continuous occupation from the Neolithic through to the Philia culture (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998). The *Ammoudhia* cemetery is situated to the south of the modern village, close to what may be a contemporaneous settlement site of *Kissonerga-Skalia* which is currently under investigation (Crewe *et al.* 2008). Part of what may prove to be a very large necropolis was excavated by Dr Stathis Raptou and a team from the Paphos District Museum in August 2000 as a rescue excavation, after two tombs (7 and 11) were severely disturbed by modern construction activities; material from that excavation forms the basis of the present research. The excavations uncovered 19 rock-cut chamber tombs containing a number of co-mingled and poorly preserved skeletons and a large amount of pottery.

The ubiquitous ware for this period is RP, occurring in many different forms, the most common being bowls and pouring vessels. RP accounts for the majority of pottery from every known excavated site dated to the prehistoric Bronze Age (for example it accounts for over 90% of the vast *Marki-Alonia* corpus [Frankel and Webb 1996, 135; 2006, Tables 4.1–4.2]). While RP is well represented at *Ammoudhia*, the dominant ware is Drab Polished (DP or Drab Polished Blue Core) ware. This ware was named by Åström (1972) and Herscher (1981) because it is

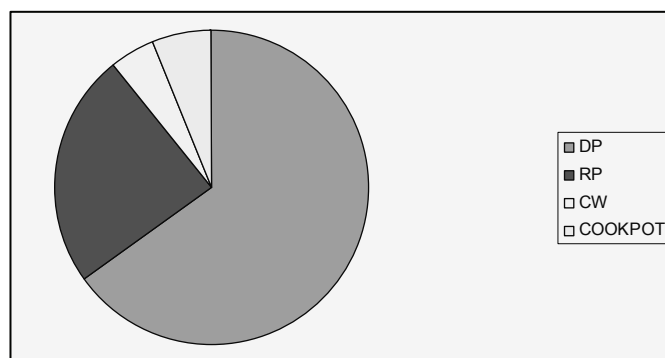


Figure 3.2: Graph showing percentages of wares (general) at Kissonerga-Ammoudhia.

usually of a buff, drab colour and is fired at very high temperatures often giving it a distinctive hard blue core. Although DP is generally a minor ware in contemporary sites, it accounts for 65% of the *Ammoudhia* assemblage (Fig. 3.2). Recognised as local to the south-west, it was originally seen as another local variant of RP (Philip 1983, 48); however, recent

research has illustrated that this is an entirely separate ware with particularly sophisticated manufacturing traditions (Herscher and Fox 1993, 71; Graham 2006; 2008). Although it was originally dated to the MC II-III (Åström 1972, 179), current studies suggest a much earlier date, and further indicate that DP may even have its origins in the preceding Chalcolithic period (Herscher and Fox 1993, 156).

The large amount of DP from *Ammoudhia* supports the hypothesis that this is a south-western ware and Kissonerga is certainly the only area so far identified where DP dominates. The sheer number of DP vessels found here, as well as the very fine nature of the vessels, is certainly suggestive of this being the “home” of DP (Graham 2006). Some vessels found at other sites on the island, such as Marki-*Alonia*, appear to be exported from the Kissonerga area (Frankel and Webb 2006, 140). However, differences in manufacturing techniques argue that sites in the south, such as Sotira-*Kaminoudhia* and Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*, had their own workshops manufacturing DP using local clays and slightly different decorative motifs and manufacturing techniques.

The DP at *Ammoudhia* is typically very hard-fired and thin-walled (Fig. 3.7). The oxidised fabric is usually obscured by the distinctive blue core, which frequently occupies the whole section. The fabric colour, when visible, is invariably bright red (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8). The clay is very fine and well levigated, usually with few small white calcareous inclusions. Surfaces are generally matte or slightly lustrous with a thin slip, occasionally mottled. Slip colours are typically reddish yellow/yellowish red (5YR 6/6, 5YR 5/6) and incised decoration occurs with some frequency, particularly on smaller juglets. 70% of vessels occur in the shape of pouring vessels (jugs and juglets); bowls account for 15%, whereas amphoras and pithoi make up the rest. The red colour of the majority of slips calls into question the nomenclature of “drab” for this type of pottery, and also questions why it cannot be referred to as another local variant of RP. However, as discussed above, the manufacturing traditions for RP and DP differ greatly,

particularly in clay sourcing and firing techniques (Herscher and Fox 1993, 71; Graham 2006; 2008) and it is clear that these are two distinct traditions at work.

RP accounts for 24% of the assemblage (*Fig. 3.2*). Whilst still clearly following a local tradition, the RP from *Ammoudhia* conforms well enough to the typical RP III typology, with a medium-soft fabric, usually fully oxidised, generally calcareous with a medium amount of small (usually white) inclusions and a thin, but lustrous, red (2.5YR 5/6–5YR 5/6) slip. It is generally more abraded than the harder DP and occurs mainly in open shapes. Small bowls are the most common RP shapes and decoration is generally rare.

Whilst not part of this discussion, it should also be noted that there is a small but significant number of cooking pots occurring in several tombs, accounting for 6% of the assemblage. The reason why domestic cooking pots (often showing signs of use) were placed in tombs is a question that is beyond the scope of this paper. However, this issue will be fully investigated in the forthcoming thesis.

The fact that this assemblage is so regionally idiosyncratic makes it extremely difficult to fit into the traditional Early Cypriot-Middle Cypriot chronology. With the caveat that establishing a chronology on the basis of unstratified tomb deposits is difficult, it is still possible to obtain some meaningful chronological information. Although originally dated to the later MC (Åström 1972, 179), evidence from recent excavations suggests that DP dates to earlier than what was previously thought. At *Alambra* (*Fig. 3.1*) DP is found in consistent MC contexts (Barlow 1996, 264). Excavations at *Marki*, however, have yielded enough DP from secure contexts to date it to EC III-MC I (Frankel and Webb 2006, 140); and if the DP here is a south-west import, as Frankel and Webb suggest (2006, 140), then it can be argued that it must have at least a somewhat earlier date in the south-west. It is also found in small amounts at the EC III-LC I settlement and cemeteries at *Episkopi-Phaneromeni*. It also occurs at nearby *Sotira-Kaminoudhia*, which has been dated to the EC (Herscher 2003, 495–505). However, DP in this site is rare, represented by one tankard in the *Sotira* cemetery and a few incomplete vessels in the settlement, which Herscher suggests are not locally made but imported from elsewhere (2003, 152–153). Recent evidence at *Kissonerga-Skalia* is also suggestive of an EC date for the emergence of DP at least in the *Kissonerga* area (Crewe, personal communication) and it is hoped that further excavations will provide more information.

Generally, the wares and shapes of the DP and RP vessels from the *Kissonerga-Ammoudhia* assemblage point to an EC III-MC III date. There are, however, a few other wares and particular vessel-forms that fit into the traditional typologies and can be more securely dated, helping to provide a more comprehensive date for the *Ammoudhia* cemetery.

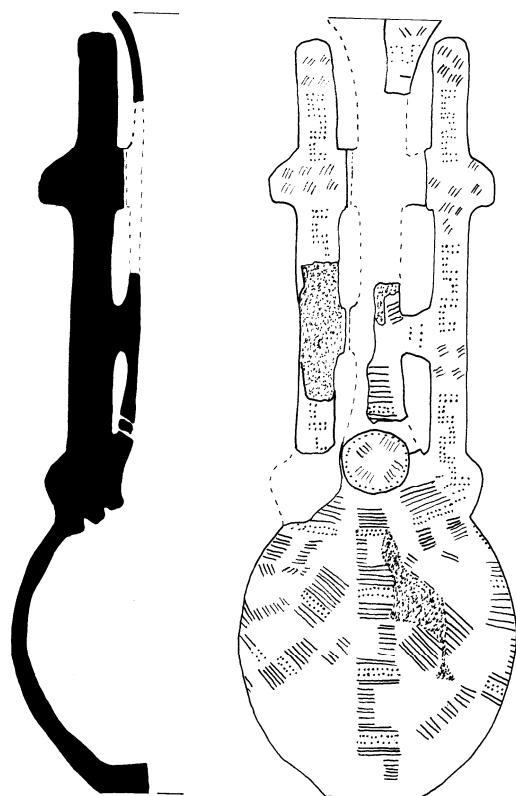


Figure 3.3: Example of RPSC Jug from Tomb 1 (Drawing by the author).

Firstly, a significant number of Red Polished South Coast (RPSC) vessels occur in a few of the *Ammoudhia* tombs. According to Stewart this ware is a south coast variant of RP I, dating to the EC I-II (1962, 225; see also Herscher 2003, 150). It has been found at Sotira, Episkopi and the Vasilikos Valley, almost entirely in cemeteries. It usually has a medium-soft to soft buff fabric and a thick dark red to almost black lustrous slip. Like examples from elsewhere, all of the RPSC vessels from *Ammoudhia* are highly decorated with deeply incised motifs. Many of these motifs are common, such as multi-linear bands (Morris 1985, 293), but several others are not seen in the existing repertoire and may suggest a local provenance. The same decorative motifs occur on several vessels and are so similar as to suggest that they are products of the same workshop, if not the same hand. RPSC occurs

in six tombs at *Ammoudhia*, and, with the exception of one conical bowl, all examples are closed vessels and highly decorated, often with elaborate lugs and appendages (*Fig. 3.3*). While they are generally very similar to RPSC from sites in the south, they appear to be finer, thinner-walled and with a harder fabric. The decorative motifs show similarities with those on RPSC vessels in the Zintilis collection, which unfortunately are without context (although Lubsen-Admiraal suggests that they are from a limited area around Erimi [2003, 10]). If traditional dating holds, then the presence of RPSC at *Ammoudhia* strongly suggests that some tombs can be dated as far back as EC I-II.

Examples of RPSC bottles occur in Tombs 4, 12, 13 and 18, but the majority of RPSC vessels occur in Tombs 1 and 6. Both are large tombs containing around two hundred vessels, many of which appear to be of EC date. In particular, Tomb 1 has no typically MC shapes, such as the small decorated juglets found in every other tomb. With the exception of a rim which appears to be from a large, deep conical bowl (Stewart 1962, pl. CVII), all of the RPSC vessels from Tombs 1 and 6 are rather large jugs with long plank like handles (*Fig. 3.3*), very similar to vessels 106–113 in the Zintilis Collection (Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, pls. X-XI).

As well as RPSC, these tombs also contain a large number of vessels of a type of RP which may be a local RP I. This ware has a red fabric (2.5YR 5/8), a thick black core and is very soft with a “soapy” texture. It has a lustrous red slip (2.5YR 5/6) and is defined by the large amount of red inclusions both in section and erupting on the surface (initial studies suggest these are poorly mixed clay particles). This type of RP occurs solely in medium to large vessels often with wavy line decoration (*Fig. 3.4*), including unusual conical bowls similar to those described by Stewart (1962, 330, pl. CXLII:20) and dated to EC I. Two of these conical bowls occur in Tomb 6 and are very similar in size and shape. One, however, is made in the expected RP I, and the other is in DP. In fact, while Tombs 1 and 6 clearly have early ceramics, the vast majority of vessels in both tombs are DP. Also, unlike the remainder of tombs, DP bowls are more common than closed vessels. Whether this is indicative of a long period of use for these tombs or of the existence of DP in the EC I-II is still unclear. However, the lack of small juglets and other MC shapes is suggestive that the vessels in Tomb 1 – if not in other tombs as well – were deposited during the EC I-II.

Elaborate large “disc” lugs also occur with some frequency (*Fig. 3.4*). These distinctive attachments in the form of an elongated stem with a round flat disc on top are very rare in the archaeological record and have so far only occurred in RP I and RPSC wares, again suggesting an EC I-II date. Five vessels displaying this feature are found in the Zintilis Collection (Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, 143–145), four of which are deep conical bowls with rims very similar to that found in Tomb 6. Disc-shaped handles also occur on an unpublished vessel from Episkopi-Phaneromeni (MacLaurin 1980, 139). Otherwise they are unknown. No less than 17 examples occur in four *Ammoudhia* tombs (1, 3, 6 and 12); seven occur in RPSC and two in the distinctive

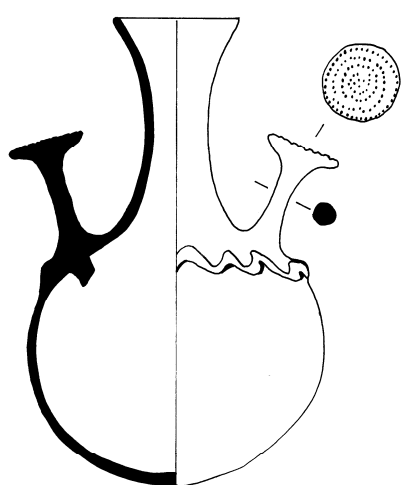


Figure 3.4: Example of local RPI with disc lugs from Tomb 1.

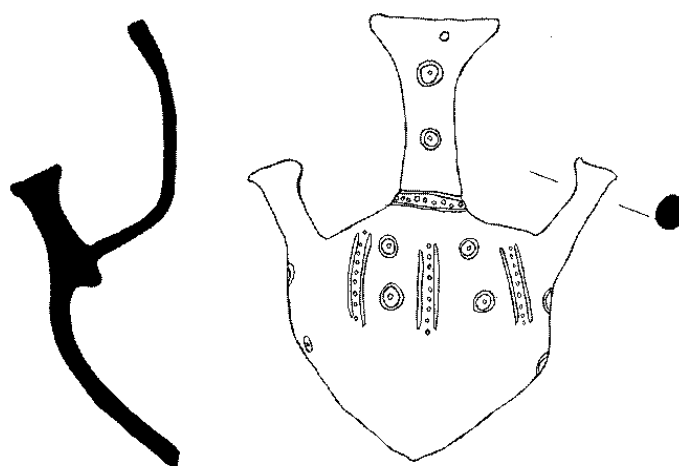


Figure 3.5: Example of flask showing typical west coast decorative motives from Tomb 15.

RP I described above (all from Tombs 1 and 6), one from a RP black-topped vessel (Tomb 1), and the remainder examples – again surprisingly in DP – were found in each of the four tombs. It is entirely possible that these large disc shapes are the precursor to the “cotton-reel” lugs that occur mostly in DP (*Fig. 3.5*) in the later EC and MC in the south-west and are generally accepted to come from the Paphos region. Stylistically they are very similar, being thrust through the vessel body in the same manner as handles. Cotton reel lugs are found in several tombs, almost always on small incised flasks. The tradition may have carried on in the south-west, with the lugs getting longer and the flat disc shrinking to a smaller, cotton-reel shape.

The remainder of the *Ammoudhia* assemblage is consistent with an EC III-MC III date. However, as well as the earlier markers mentioned above, there are several tombs that contain solely what may be described as later markers. If Tombs 1 and 6 are the earliest, then Tombs 16 and 19 appear to be the latest in date, probably belonging to the later MC and possibly continuing into LC I. While still having DP as the most common ware, the fabric is consistently very fine indeed and shapes differ from those found in the earlier tombs; small incised juglets are very common, often occurring in discrete deposits within the tombs (Raptou, personal communication). Bowls often have wishbone or elongated tablet handles. Wishbone handles are generally believed to be of MC date (Åström 1972, 78) and are found only in the later Phases H and I at Marki (Frankel and Webb 2006, 113). Here, they occur in Tombs 13, 16 and 19, often with opposing tablet lugs. Decorated bowls also occur in these tombs, incised with the formulaic west coast motifs of circles with central dots and parallel lines enclosing a line of dots. These bowls tend to have an extremely elongated tablet lug with a vertical loop handle, extending from the underside of the lug to the base of the bowl (*Fig. 3.6*). Again, this form of handle is unprecedented in the archaeological record and appears to be a local tradition.

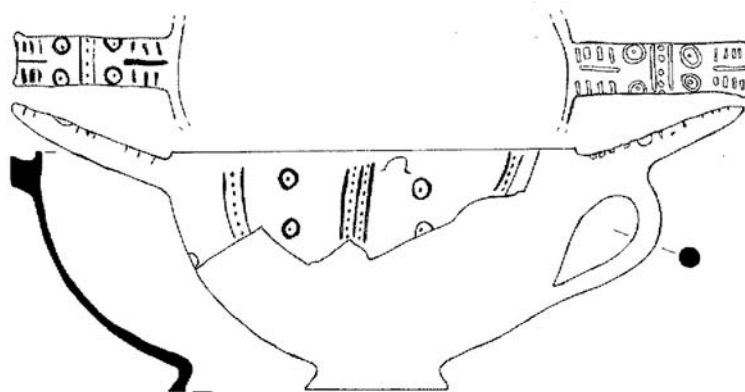


Figure 3.6: Example of ring based bowl with elongated tablet lugs and west coast decoration from Tomb 16 (Drawing by the author).

Note: The shaded areas of decoration indicate incised decoration, the unshaded indicate where white filling remains.



Figure 3.7: Typical DP jug clearly showing blue core and red slip (from Tomb 15) (Photo by the author).



Figure 3.8: Example of possible Proto-BR from tomb 16 (Photo by the author).

There are very few ring based vessels. At other sites, ring bases are not usually seen until the late MC III at the earliest (Herscher 2003, 218). Two occur at Marki but appear to be anomalies (Frankel and Webb 2006, 115). While flat bases tend to define the earliest Bronze Age ceramics (EC I-II), MC bases are predominantly rounded, pointed or nipple-shaped. Ring bases, while rare, occur in four of the *Ammoudhia* tombs (2, 10, 16 and 19). In all cases they occur on bowls and all are DP (*Fig. 3.6*).

Base Ring ware (BR) is one of the few types of ceramic to be adopted island-wide on Cyprus and is the dominant ware of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) (c.1650–1100 BC). True BR does not occur until LC I-II but Proto-BR has been identified earlier and Herscher (2003, 218) argues that DP with its very hard, thin walls and sophisticated pyrotechnology may in fact be the precursor to BR. *Ammoudhia* Tombs 16 and 19 contain DP bowls with ring bases, as well as a number of jugs and juglets that could also be Proto-BR (*Fig. 3.8*). While still conforming to the traditional DP criteria, these vessels are extremely hard and fine with the typical blue core which continues to occur in BR. Surface colours change from red to a dull brown/grey or nearly black (5YR 3/1) and are matte and generally undecorated. This evidence is highly suggestive of a MC III-LC I date for Tombs 16 and 19.

The occurrence of EC I material along with MC III-LC I vessels is an indication of the cemetery being particularly long-lived. However, the fact remains that all tombs are dominated by DP and the existence of DP vessels together with RP I and RPSC, often in the same forms with similar decoration, strongly suggests that, at least in the Kissonerga area, DP can be dated from the earlier part of the EC. Similarly, the existence of DP ring bases and the possibility that

DP evolved into Proto-BR suggests that DP provides a ceramic link between the earliest periods of the Bronze Age through to the LBA.

Kissonerga-*Ammoudhia* is the first ceramic assemblage found to contain large amounts of DP and this is therefore the first time that a detailed study of this potentially vital ware has been undertaken. Initial results strongly suggest that this is a long-lived ware with particularly sophisticated manufacturing techniques. It may be that these strong local traditions in this fairly isolated area explain why RP is not the dominant ware here, as it is everywhere else during this period. The sophisticated and strongly rooted tradition may also be responsible for the evolution of DP into Proto-BR and finally BR which becomes the ubiquitous ware of the LBA.

This is still a work in progress. Further studies will concentrate on a microscopic analysis of DP to answer questions regarding manufacturing, particularly the exploitation of clay sources and firing technology. The results may then be compared to, for example, BR to ascertain if these fabrics are only superficially similar or if they are in fact manufactured with the same techniques and traditions. Initial research has already brought *Ammoudhia* into the Cypriot Bronze Age dialogue. Further studies will hopefully aid understanding the ceramic typology, chronology and social processes across the whole island.

Acknowledgements

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DETECTING A SEQUENCE: STRATIGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKSHOP COMPLEX AREA AT ERIMI-LAONIN TOU PORAKOU

Luca Bombardieri

Introduction: aims and preliminary remarks

The aim of the present article is to preliminarily outline the chronological sequence of occupation at the site of Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou. The focus of the study will be on Period 2, which is the most represented period within the sequence, broadly ranging from Early Cypriot (EC) III to Late Cypriot (LC) IA. Period 2 burials were excavated in the southern cemetery area (Area E), and contemporary Period 2 levels were also evidenced at the top mound area (Area A), and in the first lower terrace area (Area B) (*Fig. 4.1*). Primarily, the stratigraphy recorded in Area A will be presented. In this area, a workshop complex was excavated, which was subdivided into two phases (Phases A and B), highlighting a development scheme in the Period 2 sequence of occupation. The sequence of the two phases in Area A corresponds to the evidence excavated in the Area E cemetery. The material at our disposal from Area B up until now did not offer enough data for a detailed study. This is mainly due to the limited area of excavation.

This study discusses at first the preliminary analysis of the Area A stratigraphic deposit and the collection of associated findings. Secondly, the comparable material evidence from the contemporary cemetery Area E will be presented, in order to outline the chronology and features of the EC III-LC IA sequence of occupation at these two areas of Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou.

The site

The site of Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou was identified during the survey of the middle and lower Kouris valley (Jasink *et al.* 2008, 167–168; Bombardieri 2009, 284–285). The survey project aimed at collecting new data for the study of the ancient occupation sequence in the valley area, and further possible elements for a wider analysis of the settlement patterns in the Kourion region. The area was extensively surveyed in 2007 and 2008 within a 9km² transect covering the

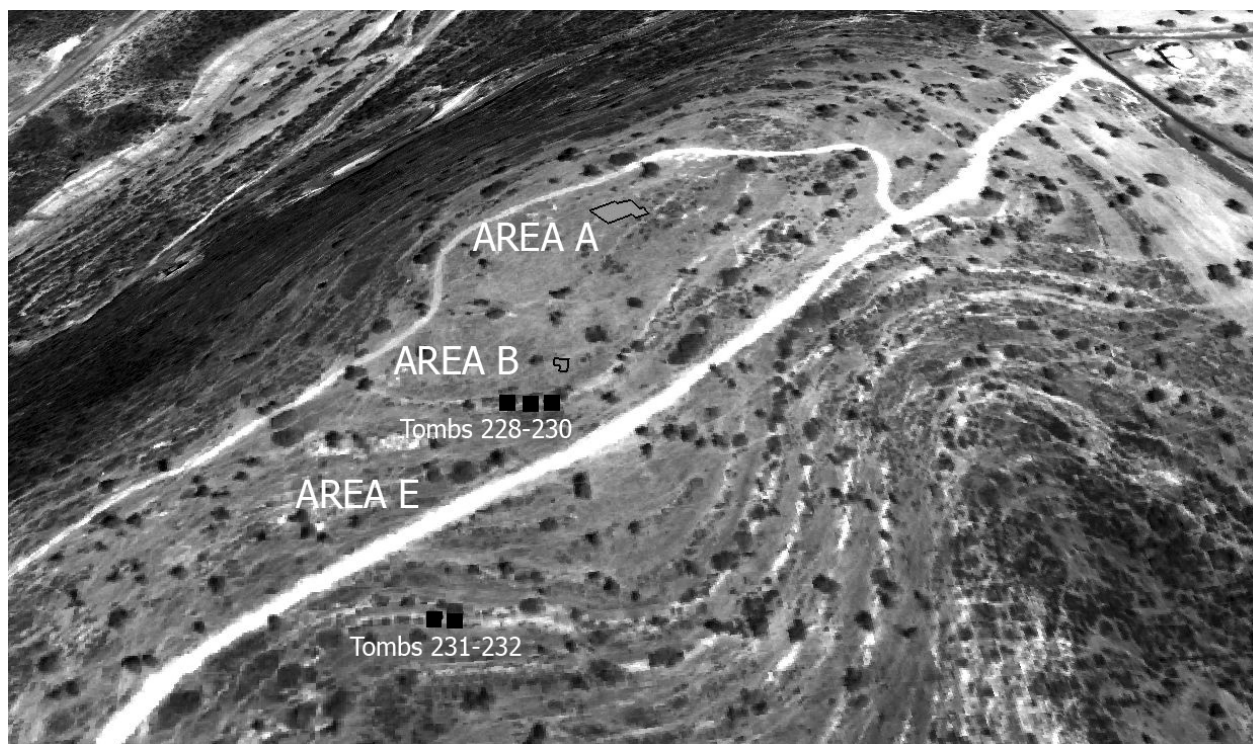


Figure 4.1: Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou. The site and areas of excavation (Areas A, B, E). DTM realised by the isohypses on topographical map 1:5.000.

western as well as the eastern riverbank, from the northern part of the villages of Erimi and Kandou to the Kouris Dam, south of Alassa. The data-processing of the surface material collections and the analysis of the cartography, satellite and aerial photographs – attained through a dedicated multilayer GIS-system – allowed the identification of 14 different sites distributed on the two slopes of the middle and lower Kouris valley. The chronological sequence of the surveyed sites showed evidence of a relevant continuity in the occupation sequence from EC-MC, throughout the Iron Age to the Byzantine and Medieval periods, as well as an interesting development within the relationship system among different sites in the valley area (Bombardieri 2010, 38–39; Bombardieri and Jasink 2010, 263–265).

The preliminary survey results pointed out the particular relevance of site 10, located on the middle eastern slope of the river valley, which lies on a high plateau facing southward towards the modern Kouris Dam, on the boundary between the Ypsonas and Erimi villages. This site corresponds to the area of Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou (Cadastral Sheet LIII, Plan 46, Plots 331–336, 384; geo-coordinates 34°42'43.00" N, 32° 55'23.00" E) (Fig. 4.1).

Two basic aspects coincided in encouraging further investigations at this site:

1. *Material assemblage*. The high density of the surface findings is critical. It corresponds to 5.66 sherds per 100 square metres, while the standard density values we recorded from other surveyed

sites in the Kouris valley range from 3.5 to 4.0 sherds per 100 square metres (Bombardieri and Chelazzi forthcoming). Furthermore, the percentage distribution of datable remains from the surface collection suggested the existence of two distinct chronological phases of occupation. An EC III-LC IA period of occupation (Period 2) was largely demonstrated by the surface collections of the whole site area. An average of 22% of the pottery assemblage consists of Red Polished (RP) ware, mostly pertaining to a Middle Cypriot (MC) II-III repertoire (Bombardieri and Chelazzi forthcoming). The absence of standard LC Plain ware and White Slip ware, as well as the almost complete lack of diagnostic Iron Age decorated wares, pointed to a possible abandonment of the site after LC IA (Bombardieri 2009, 285; Jasink *et al.* 2008, 167). Finally, the scanty occurrence of Plain ware and Sigillata ware (whose frequency makes up less than 5% of the pottery assemblage) suggested a possible later period of occupation during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Period 1) (Bombardieri *et al.* 2009, 134–138).

2. *Topography.* The site showed interesting topographical peculiarities concerning both its position in terms of the geomorphology of the wider valley system, and also its space arrangement with regards to the smaller scale of the site areas. As to the first aspect, the site lies on one of the highest hilltops of the western Kouris river bank, and therefore there is a wide view of the coast from the top mound, corresponding to the Kourion gulf area, as well as a wide view of the Kouris river valley, and of the eastern riverbank's lower terraces towards the west and the north. Hence, the position suggested a possible function as a sighting point overlooking the network system of the valley. Concerning the second aspect, the topographical layout of the site is naturally characterised by a plain top mound area, surrounded by a wider lower terrace and a series of additional smaller terraces sloping southward. These aspects suggested a possible favourable condition for settlement, in particular with respect to the top mound and first terrace areas. Similarly, the topographical features of the cemetery areas and the southern terraces of *Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou* seem to follow the standard arrangements for small chamber burials, comparable to examples in Cyprus widely documented by previous surveys (Catling 1962, 139; Karageorghis 1972, 1008; Swiny 1981, 61–64), general studies (Keswani 2004, 55–62) and recent rescue excavations carried out by the Department of Antiquities in the nearby necropolis areas of *Erimi-Kafkalla*, *Kandou* and *Alassa* (Flourentzos 1991; 2010, 9–10).

During 2008 and 2009 our investigations focused on the combined use of differently oriented on-site investigations (such as intensive field survey, geo-perspections, magnetometry and excavation), aiming to clarify the evidence which was inferred by the preliminary survey.

The geo-perspection survey and the excavation of trial trenches (Trenches A1 and B2) indicated a terracing-wall system which marks three main zones on the top mound as well as on the lower terraces (Bombardieri *et al.* 2009, 131–134). Therefore, the excavations were undertaken in three areas. The first, Area A, located on the top mound was largely occupied by a workshop, with the working areas being directly linked to a storage area that contained a rich ceramic assemblage as well as storage devices. The second area (Area B), found on the first lower terrace, was possibly occupied by a domestic quarter. Finally, Area E, a cemetery area set out on a series of smaller terraces sloping southwards, was also located. A series of five rock-cut tombs (Tombs 228–232) with a single chamber and small incoming *dromoi* were excavated here (Bombardieri 2009, 286–287) (*Fig. 4.1*).

The workshop complex area

Stratigraphic sequence and context of finds

The workshop complex cleared on the top mound (Area A) extends over the 20 x 15m area currently under investigation. The extent of this complex, which highlights peculiar spatial organisation and work installations on display (Bombardieri 2009, 285–286; 297, *fig. 3*; Bombardieri forthcoming), seems to indicate the existence of some form of industrial activity (possibly textile dyeing or leather processing). In any case, it is anticipated that the evaluation of further evidence, retrieved both from the extension of the excavated area as well as from the results of dedicated analyses, will lead to a clearer definition of the use and function of the workshop complex area, and, hopefully, of the entire range of industrial processes performed.

As far as the spatial organisation of the workshop is concerned, the natural limestone top-mound bedrock was worked out in order to form a combined system of carved deep basins on different depths, connected to each other by a series of flow channels (*Fig. 4.2*). The whole workshop complex was most likely organised into four distinct areas. Within the workshop complex three work areas, namely WA I on the north, WA II on the northwest and WA III on the southeast of the excavated area, and one storage area (SA I), can be distinguished. The work areas are separated from each other by a straight long cut step, while the storage area was created by directly carving the borders into the limestone bedrock, in the same manner as the WA I-III basins. Therefore, the cut bedrock comprised the foundation of the standing walls. The lower part of the walls was possibly built using pebbles and small square stones, while the top part was made of mudbricks. The storage area SA I covers an area of 27 square metres, and is currently under investigation (*Fig. 4.2*).

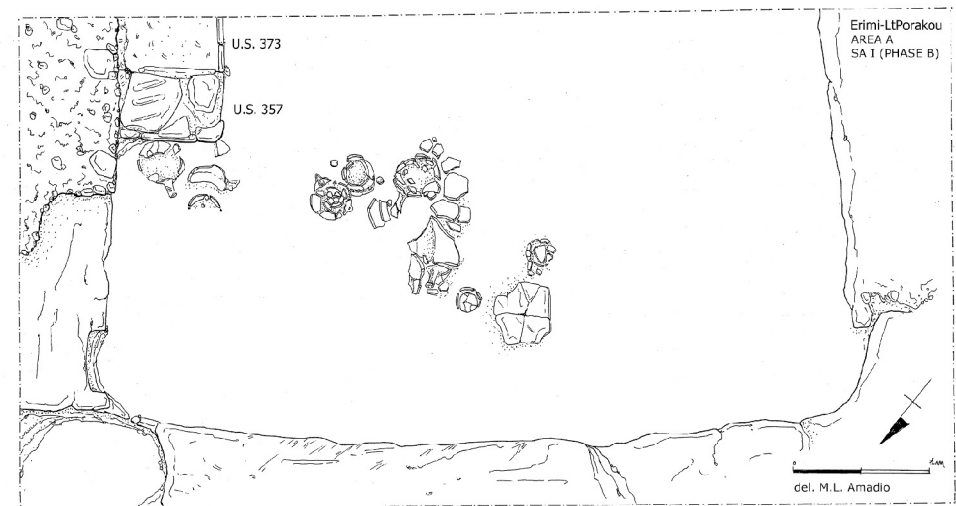
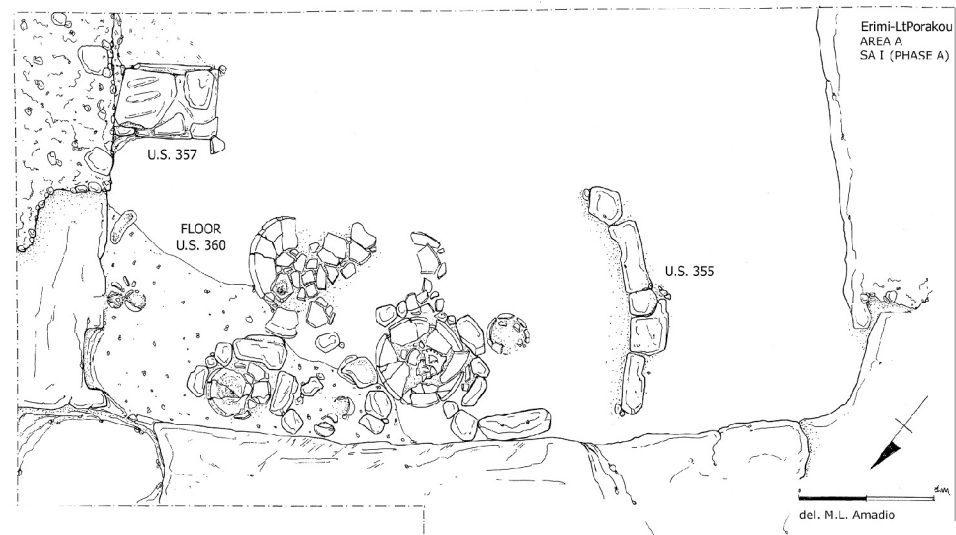


Figure 4.2: Area A. The workshop complex with the storage area SA I. Plans showing Phases A and B of SA I.

Concerning the stratigraphy, in all three working areas WA I-III the surface filling soil (U.S. 342) covers the natural limestone bedrock floor. The inside wall of most of the basins was lined with a hard grey plaster covering (U.S. 341), possibly for the purpose of waterproofing. Plaster lining was also used, presumably to flatten and regularise some zones of the bedrock floor, as well as to build small working installations. This is the case for the mortar-like installation (U.S. 336) in WA I, which was established using an andesite mortar fixed in place inside a basin (U.S. -329) using the same plaster.

Storage Area (SA I) indicated a complete and well preserved stratigraphical deposit, where a sequence of two phases (Phases A and B) was attested, as stated above. The general stratigraphic sequence is sketched in *Fig. 4.3*.

During the earlier phase (Phase B) the storage area consisted of a single room. A small stone bench (U.S. 357) which measures 0.70 x 0.50m was found in the SW area, flanked by a stone rectangular basin (U.S. 373), partly extending over the southern border of the excavation area. Both of these structures were arranged with small stone slabs vertically displayed and leaned against the SW limit wall. A niche (U.S. -361) (0.45 x 0.15m) and a bigger basin (U.S. -359), which cover an area of 0.90 x 0.70m, were found on the same wall-line (*Fig. 4.2*).

All of the excavated vessels were found crushed within a filling layer mixed with soil, mudbricks and ashes (U.S. 362). This deposit was presumably the result of the collapse of the walls of SA I, which were possibly brought down after a fire, marking the end of Phase B.

The SA I area was re-occupied during Period 2, as stated above. In the latest phase (Phase A), the storage area was subdivided into two rooms by a small NE-SW wall (U.S. 355) built elevated on single series of stones and with a mudbrick superstructure.

Abandonment		> Top filling humus (U.S. 342)
PHASE A	Collapse	> Mudbricks/stone debris (U.S. 354+351)
	Storage activity	> installations, devices (Bench U.S. 357); inside wall (U.S. 355) > ceramic vessels (SA I: 1-6, 8, 9, 19)
		Floor U.S. 360
PHASE B	Destruction	> ashes/mudbricks debris (U.S. 362)
	Workshop activity (?)	> Installations, devices (Bench U.S. 357; Basin U.S. 373) > ceramic vessels (SA I: 7, 10-18)

Figure 4.3: Area A. SA I. Outline of the occupation sequence (Phases A and B).

The wider room (Room 1) was paved with a hard plaster floor (Floor U.S. 360) covering the underlying layer of debris U.S. 362 (Phase B) as well as the stone basin U.S. 373, which leaned on the sides of the bench U.S. 357, and was evidently also used during the Phase A occupation of SA I (*Fig. 4.2*).

On the northern area of SA I the floor directly flanking the northern limit wall of the storage area was also well preserved. Two big RP ware pithoi were found crushed here *in situ*. The first (KVP09.354.SA. 3) was found leaning on the floor U.S. 360, and the second one (KVP09.354.SA. 1) was found inserted into the floor, with a small spouted juglet (KVP09.354.SA. 9) found inside it at the bottom. Both of these pithoi were surrounded by a circle of large irregular stones (U.S. 374, 376) in order to stabilise them and possibly guarantee a better arrangement. A similar structure, where two small bowls (KVP09.354.SA. 8 and 19) were recovered, was set between the mentioned pithoi. Another bowl (KVP09.354.SA. 2) was recovered on the floor next to the pithos KVP09.354.SA. 1. Two other small vessels were found lying directly on the floor near niche U.S.-361 (KVP09.354.SA. 5, 6). A third pithos (KVP09.354.SA. 4), bigger in size than the other two, was found near the central area of SA I. This last one was displayed on the floor without any surrounding structure.

A large number of sherds originating from the three collapsed pithoi and other ceramic vessels were found in a deep layer of soil, mixed with mudbricks and small and medium sized stones (U.S. 354). This layer completely covers the stone bench installation (U.S. 357) and originates from the collapse of the Phase A surrounding structures of SA I. There were no indications of fire related to the collapse of these structures.

The presence of storage pithoi and ceramic vessels *in situ* clearly indicates a sudden disastrous event, after which the area was abandoned. In fact, within the stratigraphic deposit, the collapsed layer (U.S. 354) was completely covered by a top filling layer of humus (U.S. 342), largely characterised by mixed sporadic materials, which was found all across the WA I-III area as well, and which constitutes the uppermost layer of the stratigraphic deposit.

Material assemblage

The WA I-III stratigraphic deposit, which corresponds to the cut-out basin area and the more complex and preserved deposits recorded in the Storage area SA I, is almost completely free from evidence of post-Bronze Age pottery contamination. Concerning the SA I deposit in particular, an interesting sequence can be documented. Within the filling layer U.S. 362, which corresponds to

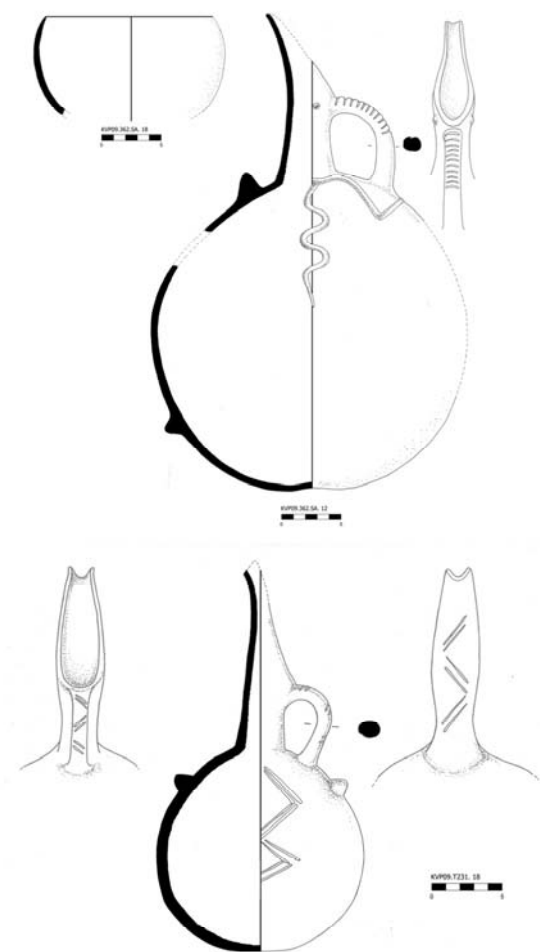


Figure 4.4: The ceramic assemblage of SA I (Phase B) and the cemetery Area E (Tomb 231).

the earlier Phase B, a wide typological repertoire was recorded, mainly from the central SA I area.

A RP III medium-sized jar with two vertical handles and an applied rope-like pattern on the neck (KVP09.362.SA. 10), and a medium-sized RP III jug with an applied wavy motif on the outer wall (KVP09.362.SA. 12) have been found within the deposit (*Fig. 4.4*). This type of vessel is generally referable to the Group A¹ Type v2 of Stewart's classification (Stewart 1988, fig. 4: 6). It is similar to examples from Lapithos and can be dated to the MC I-early MC II period. Within the south coast region a comparable jug with an almost identical applied decorative pattern was found in a burial at Avdemou, as part of a rescue excavation (Tomb 20/1) (Christou 1996, 1056, fig. 8).

Other jugs similar to KVP09.362.SA.

12 from SA I are in accordance with

findings from the cemetery Area E at Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*. A RP III ovoid-bodied jug was found in Tomb 232 (KVP09.T 232. 2) with an analogous wavy applied decoration on the shoulder and a similar incised zig-zag motif on the handle (*Fig. 4.5*). This jug can be generally categorised under the Group A¹ Type y of Stewart's classification (Stewart 1988, fig. 4:5) and in this case the twisted handle, which is different from the example found in SA I, finds a parallel in RP IV from Tomb 5 in Katydhata, dating to the MC II period (Åström and Flourentzos 1989, 103, fig. 92). A similar example of a RP III jug either with a narrow neck and cut-away spout or with a twisted handle and an applied decoration in similar wavy pattern comes from Pyrgos-*Mavroraki* (Belgiorno 2006, 49, cat. 7). Other analogous examples from Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* cemetery Area E are the globular-bodied jugs with backward-tilted neck from Tomb 228 (KVP.08.T228.2) (Bombardieri *et al.* 2009, fig. 31) and Tomb 231 (KVP09.T231.18) (*Fig. 4.4*).

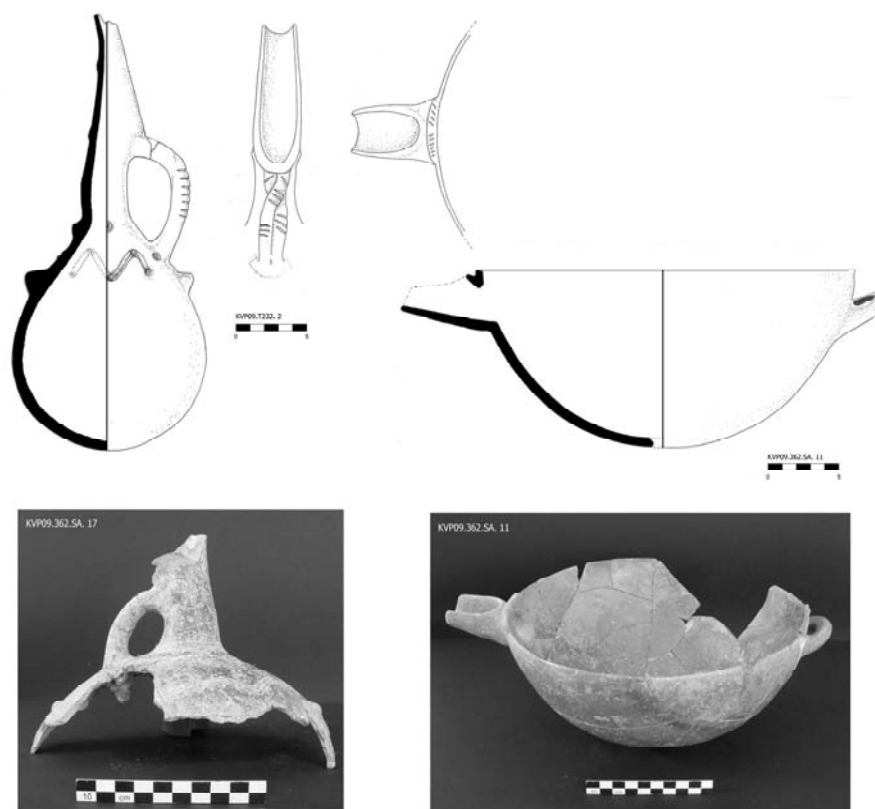


Figure 4.5: The ceramic assemblage of SA I (Phase B) and the cemetery Area E (Tomb 232).

The latter resembles the Drab Polished ware jug found at the necropolis area of Psematismenos-Koliokremmos in the Maroni valley, which is incised with a comparable two-line vertical zig-zag on the front of the neck. Both vessels come from a homogeneous context dating to the MC I period (Webb *et al.* 2007, fig. 8:26).

In addition, there is a medium-sized spouted basin with a single horizontal handle (KVP09.362.SA. 11) which fits into the same context (*Fig. 4.5*). The fabric is mixed lithic (mainly calcareous inclusions and small grits) and tempered with small chaff. Its colour is light orange and the thick slip is very carefully polished to a soapy, smooth finish. There are good parallels from Pyrgos, where a similar example comes from a tomb within the village area (Tomb 2a), dated to EC III-MC II (Belgiorno 2002, 17, fig. 7:28).

A RP III hemispherical bowl with a simple pointed rim (KVP09.362.SA. 18) fits into this production as well (*Fig. 4.4*). It is of a fine lithic- and organic-tempered fabric, brown in colour, with carefully burnished thin slip. The bowl represents a common type largely documented in Marki-Alonia during Phases F-G (EC III-MC I) (Frankel and Webb 2006, 150, fig. 4:58) and as far as the profile and the dimensions are concerned, a good counterpart can be found in the nearby area from a tomb in Alassa (Flourentzos 1991, fig. 2). The collection of materials from the

tomb, which was excavated by the Department of Antiquities in the area of *Arkatjin tou Rhothesiou* during the salvage operations before the construction of the Kouris Dam, indicates that it dates to EC III (Flourentzos 1991, 2).

Finally, a fragmentary RP ovoidal jar with incised decoration (KVP09.362.SA. 17) comes from the same Phase B context (*Fig. 4.5*). The fabric is again fine, mixed lithic- and organic-tempered, of a greyish colour and has a well-polished thin slip. A good parallel for its shape comes from Anoyira, where a similar RP IV jar was found in a tomb excavated by the Department of Antiquities (Karageorghis 1978, 894, *fig. 38*).

Two larger ceramic assemblages come from the Floor U.S. 360 and from the top filling layer U.S. 354, corresponding to the former Phase A of occupation of SA I.

Three RP pithoi come from the layers of this Phase, as stated above. The first, (KVP09.354.SA. 1) has a short neck, an ovoid body, a round base and is decorated with a wavy pattern on the handle and on the shoulder. The second (KVP09.354.SA. 1) is smaller in size, has a longer neck, a disc-shaped base and pointed handles with a motif of round finger impressions on the handles and on the neck. The third pithos (KVP09.354.SA. 4) has the largest dimensions, a short neck and angled vertical handles with incised decoration consisting of a linear pattern. The pithoi show grits and an organic-tempered fabric; their core colours range from dark brown to blackish grey. The medium thick slip is generally polished with visible marks from burnishing.

As far as the repertoire of small vessels is concerned, a series of four hemispherical bowls were found in this deposit (KVP09.354.SA. 2, 5, 8, 19) (*Fig. 4.6*). Their fabric colour ranges from light orange to brown and the slip is carefully polished. Among these vessels, the RP IV bowl KVP09.354.SA. 8 (*Fig. 4.6*) with a small lug below the rim represents a common variant, generally corresponding to the group of RP IV hemispherical bowls with pierced lug (Åström 1972, 78, Type I d. β), parallels of which were found at the northern cemeteries, such as in Ayios Iakovos (Åström 1972, pl. XIX:4), dating back to the MC III period. The repertoire of RP IV bowls from the Deneia cemeteries, widely discussed by David Frankel and Jennifer Webb (Frankel and Webb 2008; Deneia Archive on-line at <http://www.lunacommons.org>) shows affinities with our Phase A assemblage. Similarly shaped lugs can also be found attached to larger basins, such as the examples from *Alampra-Mouttes* (Georgiou 2008, 136, *Fig. 4:2*), from a MC III context recently cleared by rescue excavations carried out by the Department of Antiquities. A comparable bowl in Red Polished Mottled ware, possibly from Alampra as well, can be found in the Cesnola collection of the Semitic Museum at Harvard University (Sem.Mus No. 1995.10.674, at <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~semitic/Cesnola/>). This bowl, assigned to the Alampra Red

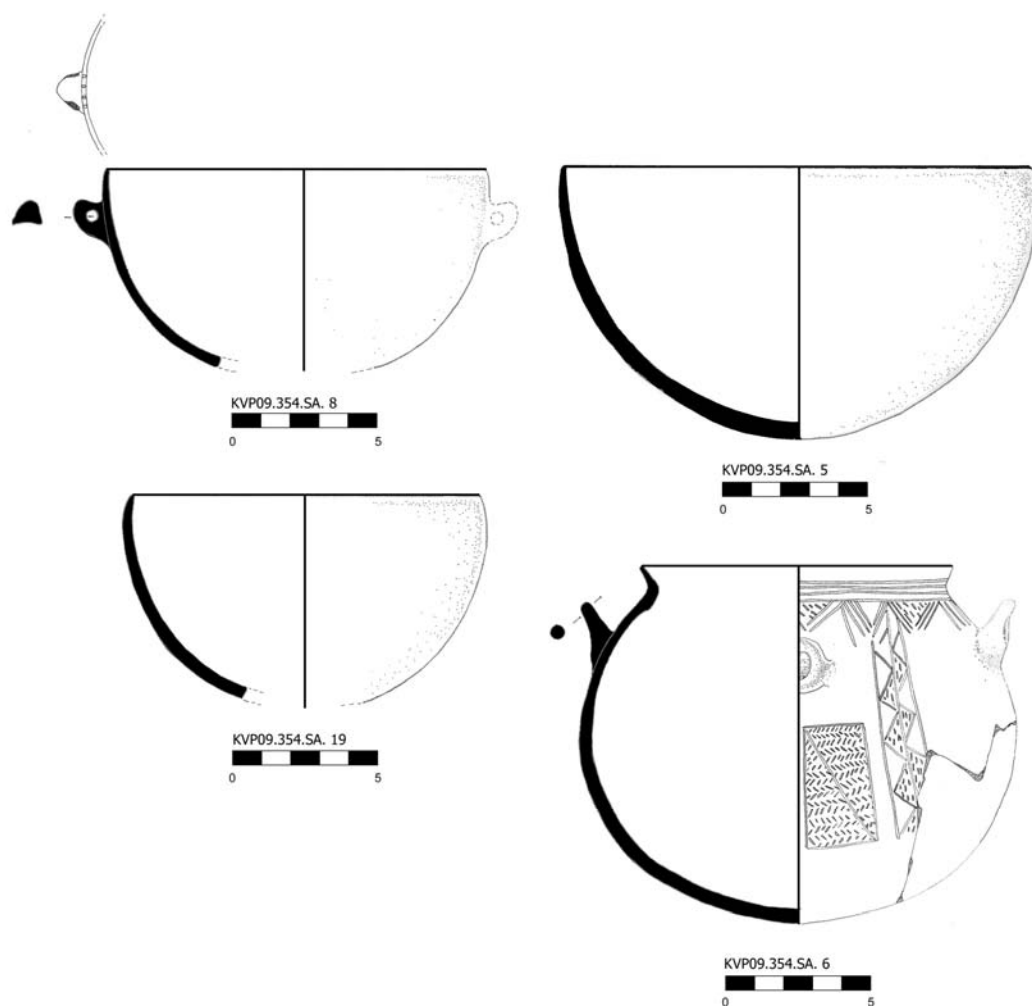


Figure 4.6: The ceramic assemblage of SA I (Phase A).

Polished A category by Jane Barlow, can be similarly dated to the end of MC period. In the Kourion region, this type is widely found as well, and we can locate counterparts from the cemetery of *Alassa-Palialona*, in particular Tomb 1, which was dated to the late MC II period (Flourentzos 1991, pl. XVII:55).

Three other RP III-IV small bowls (KVP09.354.SA. 2, 5 and 19) (*Fig. 4.6*) show standard dimensional variations of the same type with a hemispherical rounded base and a simple pointed rim. This type is well represented in the area by the MC II-III findings from the necropolis of *Alassa-Palialona* (Flourentzos 1991, pl. XIV:11; pl. XVIII:61).

A small RP IV spouted juglet (KVP09.354.SA. 9) with incised decoration consisting of a simple pattern of vertical and horizontal triple lines comes from this context as well (*Fig. 4.7*). Its fabric colour is light orange with thin carefully polished slip. This type is reminiscent of a deep Drab Polished ware bowl with a collar rim originating from a chamber tomb in Mesoyi-

Katarraktis, of MC III-LC IA date (Herscher and Fox 1993, 72, fig. 2), although this example is considerably larger than the one from Erimi. Parallels from *Evdhimou-Kiladhes* and from a LC IA burial in *Pendayia-Mandres* decorated with impressed circles can also be found (Karageorghis 1965, fig. 17:18). The closest examples in the region were found in *Alassa-Palialona* Tomb 1, where a series of several comparable spouted juglets or spouted miniature tankards were discovered (Flourentzos 1991, pl. XVI:36, pl. XVIII:57), and in *Pyrgos-Kipos*, from a tomb investigated by the Department of Antiquities (Christou 1994, 657, fig. 26), which dates back to the end of the MC period.

Finally, the pyxis KVP09.354.SA. 6 is undoubtedly more unusual with regards to both its shape and the decorative pattern (see *Figs. 4.6–7*). The fabric is a buff color and its surface is burnished smooth with a soapy texture. The pyxis has an incoming wall, with a simple and slightly everted rounded rim and four small symmetric horizontal lugs on the upper part of the wall. The incised decoration covers the entire outer wall. Under the rim there is a series of sets of three horizontal lines on top of continuous triangles filled with punctures or hatches. Below the horizontal top decoration there is a series of vertical bands with zig-zag and lozenges that outline wider areas occupied by rectangular panels similarly filled with a dense punctured decoration.

The broad profile as well as the shape of the horizontal lugs resemble the RP III pyxides, dating to the EC III-MC I period, documented at sites on the north coast, particularly in the Vounous and Lapithos cemeteries (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXVIII:7,8; Dikaïos 1940, pl.

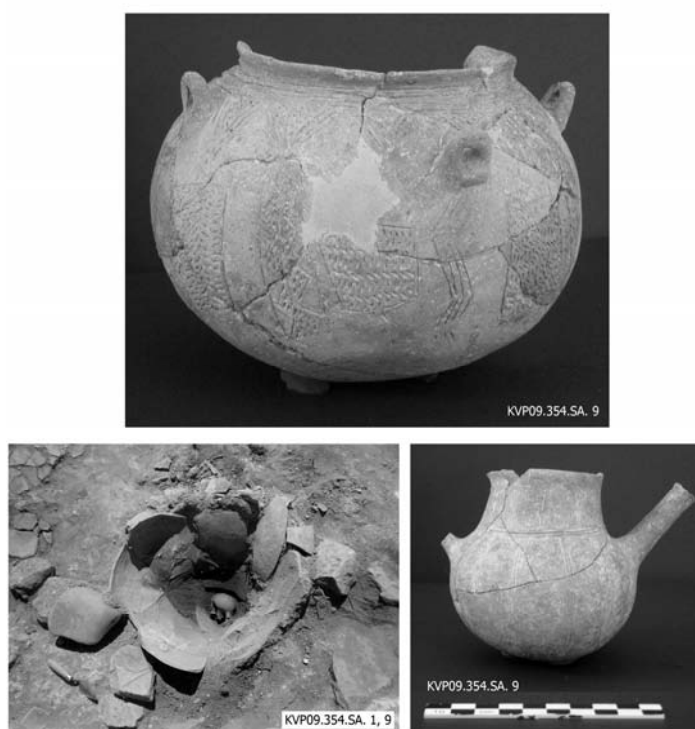


Figure 4.7: The ceramic assemblage of SA I (Phase A)

LIV:1–13). Examples referable to the Type IX Cc3 of the Stewart classification come from Tomb 322 at Lapithos and can also be found in the Ashmolean Museum collection (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CII:L322 B31; Dikaïos and Stewart, pl. CXXVIII:7–8; Frankel 1983, pl. 11:135). Nonetheless the bigger size, the rounded profile of the base and the pattern of the incised decoration clearly differs from the general features of the north coast production documented at Vounous and Lapithos, hinting at a different type. Furthermore, the globular depressed body and the presence of symmetrical small horizontal lugs are similar to a RP III pyxis from Pyrgos-*Mavroraki* (Belgiorno 2006, 82, cat. 49), although this example lacks the everted rim. The pyxis from Pyrgos in fact differs from the SA I example in the number of the lugs and their location: it has two lugs and two symmetrical knobs under the rim. It is also different in the general features of the decoration pattern.

The technique and general patterns of the decoration seem rather close to the typical punctured decoration of the so-called Episkopi ware (Tatton-Brown 1979, 35–36). This variety was defined by Stuart Swiny as Red Polished Punctured ware because of its standard recurrent incised decoration (Carpenter 1981, 64). It was first discovered in a stratified context at Episkopi-*Phaneromeni* as a diagnostic decorative style of the LC IA period (Herscher 1976, 11–19). Different versions of incised and punctured decoration are also seen in a series of Black Slip and Black Burnished ware juglets coming from LC IA-B funerary deposits at Pendaria-*Mandres*, from the “necropoli a mare” at Ayia Irini-*Paleokastro* and from Toumba tou Skourou, on the Morphou bay (Negbi 1978, 140–143; Karageorgis 1965, 54–55; Pecorella 1977, 116, fig. 283; Eriksson 2007, 171–173). In particular, Tomb 5 from Toumba tou Skourou has yielded a series of four juglets (Group III), which are considered to be imitations of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware types with locally adapted peculiar punctured decorative patterns (Negbi 1978, figs. 5–9).

The punctured decoration variety of RP ware from Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*, which displays “meticulously incised hook and key patterns, lozenges and triangles filled with punctures or hatches” (Carpenter 1981, 64) is largely represented, constituting 37% of the ceramic assemblage of Area A. This decorative treatment is applied in a repertoire of wide vessels consisting of juglets, jars, as well as bowls and theriomorphic askoi (Swiny 1991, 38, tab. 4.1). The similarities in general patterns and decoration techniques lead us to consider the pyxis KVP09.354.SA. 6 from SA I as an (unusual) example and as a possible variation within this peculiar ceramic style (Carpenter 1981, 78, fig. 3–17).

In Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* this kind of punctured decoration is also documented in the cemetery Area E, where a Black Slip II jug and a Black Slip II small deep bowl with a globular

depressed body and a decoration of impressed circles were found inside Tomb 228 (Bombardieri *et al.* 2009, fig. 29; Bombardieri 2009, fig. 5c). A few sherds were also found in the disturbed filling layer near Tomb 229, which was looted in antiquity. The finds from both tombs belong to the same peculiar variety of punctured decorated vessels largely witnessed in the South Coast pottery production (Åström 1972, 95, Type VIII B 6e; Herscher 1976; 1991; Merrillees 1991, 238).

Conclusions

From the discussion of the material remains and the interpretation of the stratigraphic deposit, an occupation sequence throughout the two phases A and B can be established, thus outlining the chronology of the workshop complex area in Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou. A time span ranging from EC III to LC IA can be inferred from the ceramic evidence. This corresponds to the most represented period (Period 2) in the general occupation sequence established up to now at Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou. A close analysis of the stratified material assemblage from SA I suggests a possible EC III-MC I/II time span for the earlier phase (Phase B), and a possible MC II/III-LC IA time span for the latest phase (Phase A). Comparably dated material has been extensively found in Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou from the tombs 228–232 as well, confirming that the southern cemetery (Area E), was a contemporary of the top mound workshop area (Area A), and that it was in use throughout both Phase A and B.

Thus, from the evidence of the occupation sequence cleared at Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou, further data can be obtained for an updated analysis of the complex and dynamic settlement pattern-system during the EC-LC I periods at the Kouris area. This scheme is likely to have influenced the development of the LC urban centres in the Kouris area.

Two corresponding aspects can be emphasised in a wider analysis: the diffusion of EC to LC I clusters in the upper and lower Kouris Valley and localised reorganisation phenomena at the end of the period, during LC I. While EC to LC I material evidence is documented in the upper and lower Kouris (mostly in the Alassa-Palialona, Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou, Erimi-Kafkalla, Episkopi-Phaneromeni), none of these areas were settled in the subsequent LC II-III. The evidence of discontinuity, also confirmed by the occupation sequence in Erimi-Laonin tou Porakou, seems to agree with a number of reorganisation phenomena that took place during the later stage of the LC I period.

As to the lower Kouris Valley, the development of the cemetery area of Erimi-Kafkalla suggests that there was a reorganisation of the space, for instance a possible realignment of the

boundaries of the necropolis area in the MC III-LC I period (Swiny 1981, 61–64; Kiely 2010). The recent excavations by the Department of Antiquities can broaden the evidence at our disposal and better clarify whether this reassessment could be related to the new role played by the cemetery and the settlement area of Erimi-*Pitharka* in LC II and III. At the same time, the abandonment of the settlement areas in Episkopi-*Phaneromeni* (Carpenter 1981, 62), and possibly also at the Episkopi village (Swiny 1981, 59–60) after LC IA, has been considered to be connected with the development of Episkopi-*Bamboula* (Swiny 1981, 86; Kiely 2010; for general discussions regarding the development of the role of Episkopi-*Bamboula* see Iacovou 2007, 15; Knapp 2008, 136–142; Keswani 1993).

With regards to the upper Kouris area, the abandonment of Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* after LC IA, can be paralleled with the evidence from Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*. It also corresponds to the relationship of the EC-MC cemeteries at Alassa with the settlement area of Alassa-*Pano Mantilaris* before the construction of the official area in *Paliotaverna* (Hadjisavvas 1989; 1996), which still remain unclear.

It could be argued that the complex settlement-system of a number of quite localised centres, which was developed during the EC-LC IA period in the Kouris valley, survived throughout the LC II-III period, without the emergence of a model focused on a single centre.

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PYLA-KOKKINOKREMOS AND MAA-PALAEOKASTRO: A COMPARISON OF TWO NATURALLY FORTIFIED LATE CYPRIOT SETTLEMENTS

Artemis Georgiou

Introduction

Since the earliest excavations of Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro by Dikaïos in the early 1950s and the more systematic research at the two sites by Karageorghis in the 1980s, similarities between the two settlements have been repeatedly noted (Dikaïos 1969–71, 911–912; Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 263). What is more, the two sites are usually approached as a pair in discussions relating to the close of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) in Cyprus (*e.g.* Karageorghis 1984, 20–22; 2001, 1–4; 2002, 73–81; Knapp 2008, 237–239).

As it has been rightly stressed in past scholarship, Pyla and Maa represent several common features. They were both newly founded at the transition from Late Cypriot (LC) IIC (roughly the 13th century BC) to LC IIIA (roughly the 12th century BC) (Manning *et al.* 2001) on top of naturally fortified areas. They are also both singularly short-lived sites, persisting for only a few decades before their abandonment. These temporal similarities notwithstanding, the two sites present an array of significant differences, mostly in their material culture. The aim of this paper is to compare Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro in terms of their topographical setting, their architectural remains, and their ceramic and metallurgical finds, in order to perceive their correlation, and establish how similar or dissimilar they were. This task is significant when attempting to define the roles and functions fulfilled by Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro. In extension, the thorough examination and comparison between Pyla and Maa aims to highlight their particular character and indicate the LC regional responses to the Mediterranean-wide “Crisis”.

Cyprus during the “Crisis Years”

The transition from the 13th to the 12th century BC marks a time when politically and economically powerful polities in the eastern Mediterranean were brought to demise. In the

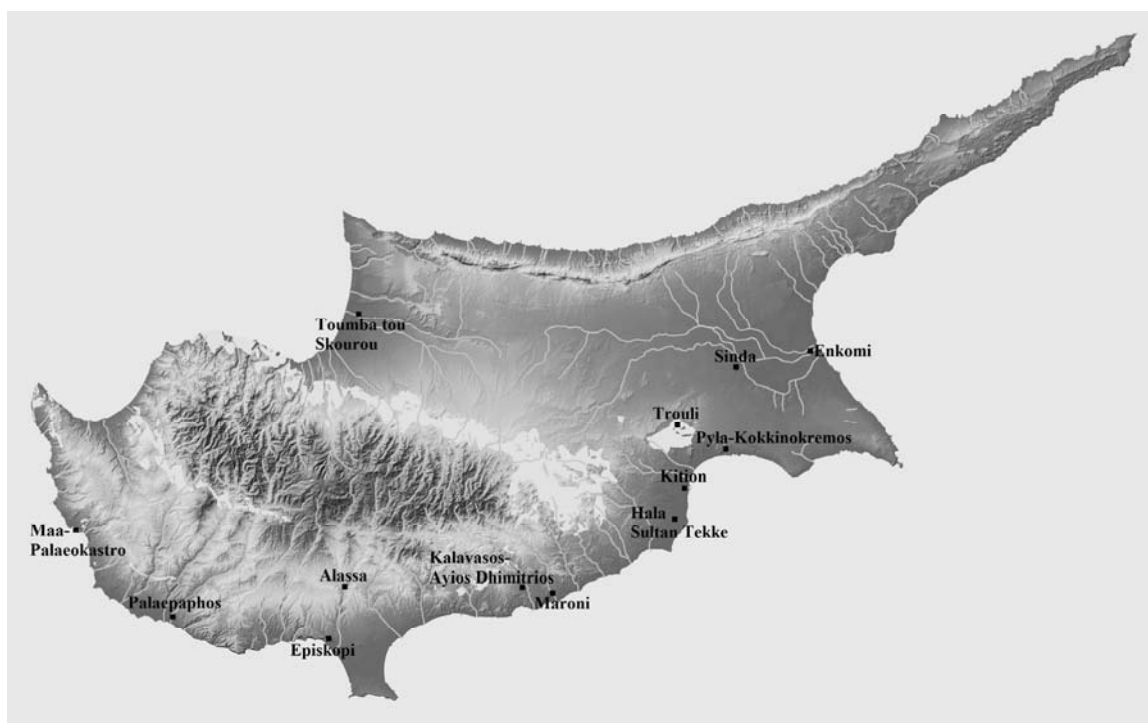


Figure 5.1: Map of Cyprus with sites mentioned in the text.

Aegean, the second half of the 13th century BC coincided with the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces, both as architectural complexes and as administrative centres (Rutter 1992; Deger-Jalkotzy 1996, 716–717). In western Anatolia, the beginning of the 12th century marked the last period of the Hittite Empire (Hoffner 1992, 47; Klengel 2002, 108). The majority of the long-standing prosperous city-states along the Syro-Palestinian coast were abandoned after having suffered great destructions (Dever 1992, 101; Yon 2006, 22). For Pharaonic Egypt this was a period of disorder and instability during the reign of kings Merneptah and Rameses III. The latter illustrates at length his expeditions against the “Sea Peoples” in a propagandistically victorious fashion at his funerary temple at Medinet Habu (O’Connor 2000).

The events that took place in Cyprus during these turbulent years should not be presupposed to have been the same or in line with the events elsewhere in the Mediterranean, bearing in mind the island’s distinctive geo-political structures (Iacovou 2007a, 461). Unlike neighbouring states, Cyprus’ first urbanised polities were developed only after the dawn of the LBA. This much belated episode was stimulated by the need to develop a complex organisation for the extraction of copper, located at the metalliferous zones of the Troodos Mountains in the centre of the island, and its subsequent processing and transportation to the coast, from where it was exported to other polities of the Mediterranean (Keswani 1996, 219).

The urban status of the LC polities is evident by the participation in the “international” trade, the construction of monumental structures with ashlar masonry and the use the Cypro-Minoan script and seals to control the management and distribution of resources (Knapp 2008, 133). The development of social stratification, especially seen through mortuary elite-display, is an additional indication of the development of urbanised societies (Keswani 2004, 158–159). These centres do not appear to have been united under an island-wide state. The archaeological record suggests that the island consisted of a series of largely autonomous polities, with varying administrative patterns (See discussion in Sherratt 1998, 297; Keswani 1996, 239; 2004, 85; Iacovou 2005, 129; Peltenburg this volume; cf. Knapp 2008, 340).

The opening of the 12th century BC in Cyprus saw a decrease in the number of the LC urban centres (Iacovou 2008, 631). The site of *Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou* in the north was abandoned at the close of the 13th century (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990, 396), as were the two thriving coastal sites of *Kalavastos-Ayios Dhimitrios* and *Maroni-Vournes*. Excavations have reported no evidence of violent destruction prior to their desertion (South 1988, 227; Cadogan *et al.* 2001, 84). The peaceful abandonment of Kalavastos and Maroni was a decision made by the inhabitants, who were not fleeing the threat of an approaching enemy, but were rather breaking away from the failure of their polities to sustain the trading activities with the rest of the Mediterranean, in the light of the general crisis and the decrease of the external demand for Cypriot copper (Knapp 1997, 68). The fact that the inhabitants never returned to reoccupy the deserted, still-standing structures is a further indication of their conscious decision (Iacovou forthcoming).

Despite the general turbulence in the eastern Mediterranean, and the extensive restructuring of the LC landscape, Cyprus did not suffer the impact of an urban breakdown (Iacovou 2006a, 325). Areas I and III at Enkomi suffered destruction at the end of the LCIIIC period, marking the end of Level IIB (Dikaios 1969–71, 487), but whether this was expanded to cover the entire polity is as yet not substantiated. Regardless, the site was not abandoned and continued as a major urban centre in the succeeding LCIIIA period (Courtois *et al.* 1986, 20). Hala Sultan Tekke also survived the crisis, and continued to serve as a cosmopolitan trading polity on the south-east of the island during the LCIIIA period (Åström 1996). The settlement was peacefully abandoned at the end of the 11th century BC following the silt-up of its port (Åström 1986, 8).

The two other urban centres that survived the crisis, namely Kition and Palaepaphos, appear to have benefited from the crisis and the subsequent upturn of the settlement pattern of the island to expand into two centres of paramount importance. The collapse of the regional urban centres of *Kalavastos-Ayios Dhimitrios* and *Maroni-Vournes* situated between Kition and Palaepaphos left

a “power vacuum” that was apparently filled by the two sites located on the southeast and southwest of the island respectively (Iacovou 2006a, 326). Amidst a presumed crisis, Kition undertook the erection of the massive ashlar-built Temple 1 and simultaneously Palaepaphos realised the construction of the megalithic Temenos I (Webb 1999, 292). The re-organisation of the sacred precincts at Kition and Palaepaphos in an unprecedented monumental level evidently reflects the wealth attained by these two polities during this period (Iacovou 2008, 637).

All in all, the effect of the Mediterranean “crisis” in Cyprus caused upheavals in the geo-political structures of the island, but it was by no means devastating. The crisis could not have been overwhelming throughout Cyprus, because there was no central political administrative system to be lost to begin with. It affected only the regional systems, and this is why we see such divergent responses (Webb 1999, 286; Iacovou 2008, 631).

A comparison of two short-lived Late Cypriot settlements

Pyla-Kokkinokremos and *Maa-Palaeokastro* stand out in any overview of the settlement pattern of the 12th century BC in Cyprus. They are the only two settlements that were newly established during the transition from the 13th to the 12th century BC, and their foundation coincides with upheavals in the settlement pattern of the island. What is more, both sites were extremely short-lived, and were abandoned a couple of generations after their establishment. As such, they function as “time-capsules” (Iacovou 2007b, 12), and their study is crucial in order to perceive the series of events that took place in Cyprus during this period.

Archaeological research

Pyla-Kokkinokremos and *Maa-Palaeokastro* were not excavated to the same extent. The seven seasons of excavation at Maa during 1979–1986 unearthed a substantial portion of the settlement, estimated to have covered approximately 46,000m² (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 1).

In contrast, the two short excavation-seasons at *Kokkinokremos* at Area II during 1981–1982 exposed an area of barely over 1000m². Two additional excavation-seasons took place in 2010–2011, concentrating on the southeast of Area II. In total, the area excavated so far at *Kokkinokremos* constitutes a tiny fraction of the postulated extent of the settlement, estimated at 270,000m² (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 4–5). The suggested size of the settlement on top of the *Kokkinokremos* plateau is considered to be significantly larger compared to that of Maa, and this is somewhat an oddity considering its very limited time-span. As it has been recently pointed out by Iacovou, the estimated size of Pyla does not necessarily correspond to 27ha of built-up space (2007b, 11). This remains to be substantiated through an extensive survey of the plateau.

Topographical setting

Both Pyla and Maa were established in areas where natural defence prevailed. In the case of Pyla, the settlement was securely protected by the high altitude (63m above sea-level) of the *Kokkinokremos* plateau and the precipitous cliffs that surrounded it. The *Palaeokastro* settlement, on the other hand, was defended by means of the steeply rising cliffs along the Maa peninsula.

Both sites also enjoyed a strategic view of the surrounding region. The settlement on top of the *Kokkinokremos* plateau is privileged with a view that commanded the inland routes linking the fertile Mesaoria plain to the coast, and the sea-routes of the southern coast, and especially the Larnaka bay (Karageorghis 1990, 9). It is perhaps not incidental that the word Pyla (Πύλα) means gate, further indicating the strategic location of the area (Karageorghis 2001, 2). Correspondingly, the settlement at the Maa promontory overlooks the sea-lanes along the western coast of Cyprus.

Furthermore, both sites were established by the coast, with access to port facilities. The case of Maa is straightforward: the settlement along the promontory was flanked by two well-sheltered bays, suitable for the anchorage of small ships (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 1). The eastern bay in particular provided an ideal open port, protected from the western winds. The *Kokkinokremos* hill is nowadays located further inland, at about 1km from the shore. However, as indicated by recent fieldwork in the area, much of the surrounding plateau was submerged in antiquity (Caraher *et al.* 2005, 246–247, map 1), suggesting that the site had direct access to the coast.

Both settlements shared the disadvantages of the lack of water from within the settlement area. *Maa-Palaeokastro* and *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* are described as waterless sites, since their respective locations do not allow the creation of springs, and consequently the establishment of wells (Karageorghis 1990, 7, 26). Water was, nonetheless, available from sources in the vicinity of both settlements.

An additional point can be made for the proximity of the two sites to cupriferous zones. Pyla was established less than 10km to the south-east of the rich Trouli copper-mines (*Fig. 5.1*).

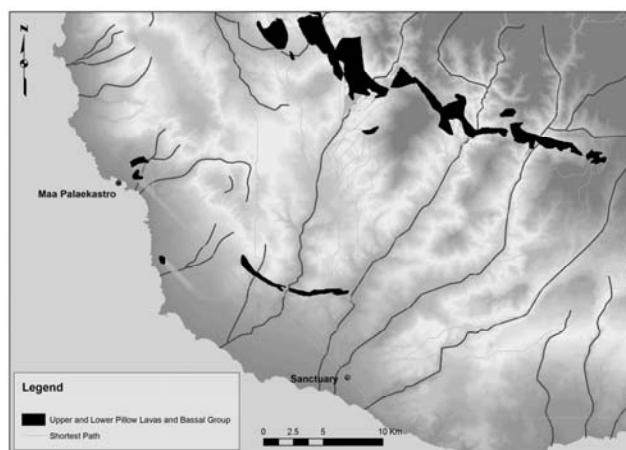


Figure 5.2: Map showing the copper outcrops near Maa-Palaeokastro and the shortest path to the site from the Sanctuary at Palaepaphos (prepared by A. Agapiou).

Maa, on the other hand, was situated less than 1.5km to the south-west of a small copper outcrop, as indicated by the results of a recent GPS project (Agapiou 2010, 38) (*Fig. 5.2*).

The evidence for sites in the immediate vicinity of the two settlements is scanty. Limited excavations at *Pyla-Verghi*, *Steno*, and *Koukkoufouthkia*, close to *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* revealed a number of tombs and very limited architectural evidence (Megaw 1957, 25; Dikaïos 1969–71, 896, 918). These sites were evidently abandoned before the establishment of *Kokkinokremos*. *Peyia-Koutsouros* and *Elia tou Vatani*, situated c. 1.5–2km to the north of Maa are only known through surface pottery-scatters, and preliminarily date to LC IIC (Baird 1985, 343–345).

Pyla-Kokkinokremos is located less than 10km from Kition, whereas *Maa-Palaeokastro* was established approximately 25km to the northwest of Palaepaphos. The distance between the latter two sites has no significant barriers and is therefore easily walked (*Fig. 5.2*) (Agapiou 2010, fig. 102). Analyses of the visibility-range indicate that sea-traffic to and from *Maa-Palaeokastro* was visible from the megalithic temenos of the sanctuary at Palaepaphos (Agapiou 2010, 45), erected in the LC IIC/IIIA period.

Architectural remains

Both *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* and *Maa-Palaeokastro* are considered to be fortified sites. However, the man-made defensive systems protecting the two settlements differ greatly. The fortifications at Maa (*Fig. 5.4*) are prominent and consist of two parts: the Northern Fortification wall along the landward end of the peninsula, and the Southern Fortification wall along the seaward edge. The fortifications at Maa were built with large boulders that are characteristic of the so-called “Cyclopean” construction (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 63). A postulated “Tower” (Rooms 45 and 46) was also excavated at Maa, which presumably controlled sea-traffic (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 50–52).

In contrast, the “fortifications” at *Kokkinokremos* comprised merely the enhancement in width of the eastern wall of the residential complexes (*Fig. 5.3*) (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 23). This wide casemate wall provided a reinforcement of the site’s natural defences, but is considered unstable without the buttressing of the residential complexes (Wright 1992, 243). It was established to define and envelope the settlement rather than to firmly protect it. In that respect, although the site’s natural protection was enhanced, these defensive arrangements cannot be compared to the robust means of fortification at *Maa-Palaeokastro*.

In both sites there is an element of advanced planning. The complexes excavated at *Kokkinokremos* reveal regularity in their layout (*Fig. 5.3*). The excavators indicate that “It is clear from the chronology of the site and the advanced planning inherent in the scheme of the

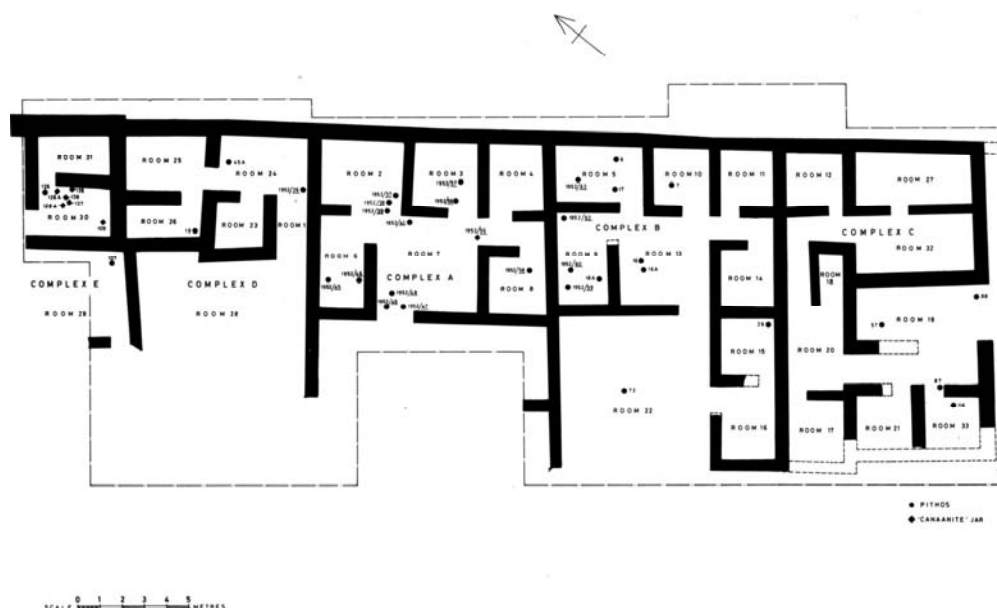


Figure 5.3: Ground plan of the 1981-1982 excavations in Area II at Pyla-Kokkinokremos (from Karageorghis and Demas 1984, fig. 4).

architecture that the complexes were erected at one time”. They further suggest that the settlement “is not the result of gradual growth and haphazard development” (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 26). Correspondingly, the settlement at Maa was laid out orderly, with the structures set alongside a street (*Fig. 5.4*) (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, figs. 2, 4). A further indication for organised building at Maa is the excessive cutting of the bedrock for the foundation of walls. The large scale of this operation is rather unusual for a settlement of such a small size and brief occupation (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 91).

The excavations at Pyla-Kokkinokremos exposed five distinct complexes with attached side-walls, clustered together along the plateau’s ridge (*Fig. 5.3*) (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, fig. 4). The complexes are of similar dimensions and plan. Complexes A and B have a practically identical ground-plan, whereby half of the space is occupied by a large open courtyard and the rest by a number of rooms. This basic plan is repeated for the rest of the structures at Kokkinokremos, with some variations in the number and location of the rooms.

At Maa-Palaeokastro, the four main buildings assigned to Floor II have four different house plans (*Fig. 5.4*). Building I is probably the closest to the Pyla-Kokkinokremos structures, in that it represents a large rectangular building subdivided into smaller rooms symmetrically arranged. Buildings II and IV both consist of a large room on one side and smaller ancillary rooms surrounding it. Finally, Building III has a very particular ground plan with long and narrow corridor-like rooms. This structure was evidently dedicated to (supra-household) storage (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 34).

The settlement at Maa-*Palaeokastro* suffered destruction, which marked the end of Floor II, and was followed by the rebuilding activities of Floor I. The apparent continuity in material culture between the two building phases suggests that Floor I reconstructions were not executed by an intrusive foreign element (Karageorghis 1990, 26). Floor I building activities are characterised by hasty constructions. The structures assigned to Floor I occupation are much more numerous compared to these of Floor II, presumably indicating a population increase.

The use of ashlar masonry for the construction of walls is confined to the settlement of Maa-*Palaeokastro*, and this constitutes an essential difference between the two sites. Ashlar masonry is used exclusively for Building I and the “Tower”

only for Floor II, and not in a uniform fashion. For instance, only the south wall of Building I has an ashlar facade, and only its eastern segment preserves more than one course. For the rest of the building’s walls, and also for the construction of the “Tower”, ashlar masonry was applied inconsistently, mainly for marking openings. The ashlar blocks from Maa are of a very poor quality and the excavators have put forward the possibility that these are re-used from earlier buildings from a neighbouring settlement (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 55), albeit the absence of a known LBA site with monumental structures in the vicinity.

Built hearths were only excavated at Maa-*Palaeokastro*. The ones dated to Floor II are distinguished into two types: elliptically shaped, such as the one housed inside Room 64 (Building II), and U-shaped, such as the ones found in Room 75 (Building IV) and Room 76. The only hearth dated to Floor I was found in Room 48 and is mudbrick-lined. Hearth-rooms are entirely absent from Pyla, but are found at Enkomi (*e.g.* Dikaios 1969–71, 186) and other LC sites (Karageorghis 1998, 278).

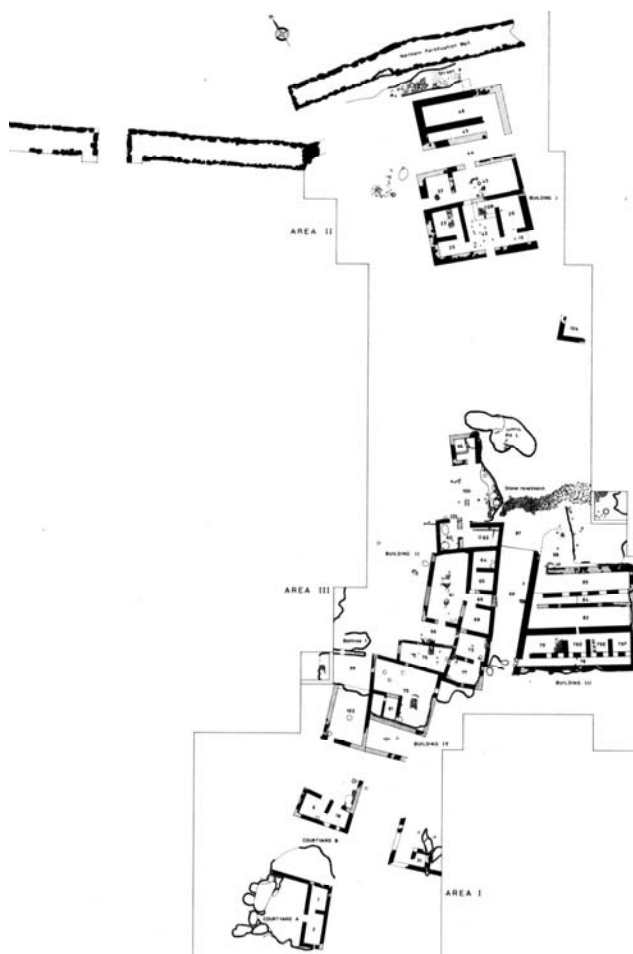


Figure 5.4: Schematic plan of Floor II at Maa-*Palaeokastro* (from Karageorghis and Demas 1988, fig. 2).

Pottery

The bulk of pottery from both *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* and *Maa-Palaeokastro* are Plain White wares. Handmade medium sized jugs are rather common at both sites (e.g. *P-K*¹ 1, 24, 88A, 128, 140; *M-P* 550, 615) with slight differences in the attachment of the vertical handle, possibly indicating regional variations. Plain White ware pithoi are also commonly found at Pyla and especially at Maa (e.g. *M-P* 611, 589, 563, 627, 210). They are preserved mostly in fragments and a large number comprises fragmentary Group II pithoi (Keswani 1989, 15–16). Pithoi of this type are decorated with wavy and straight bands in relief with applied clay. During my research at Maa, I was able to identify some fragments which may belong to the pithoi of Group III (e.g. *M-P* Room 68/Tray1–5; Room 85/Tray 3; Room 44A/Tray 6). This group constitutes the largest of the storage vessels of LBA Cyprus, attested at *Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios* and *Palaepaphos*, among others (Keswani 1989, fig. 18:1–9; 2009; Maier 1977, fig. 3). This class of pithoi can only be linked with supra-household/communal storage, judging by their immense size and capacity (Webb and Frankel 1994, 12).

Excavations at *Maa-Palaeokastro* revealed fragments of pithoi and pithoid jars decorated with impressed cylinder-seal friezes. These compositions were produced by rolling a cylindrical seal, presumably made of wood, over an additional band of clay, usually of a lighter colour (Smith 1994). In the case of fragments *M-P* 597 and *M-P* 619 the cylinder seal was rolled directly on the rim of the vessel. Two different cylinder seals were used for the production of relief-friezes at Maa: the first depicts a chariot-hunting scene (*Fig. 5.5*), and the second shows pairs of goats feeding from olive trees (*Fig. 5.6*) (Porada 1988, 301–303). Such relief-friezes are known from a number of contemporary LC sites (Webb 1992, fn. 7), including *Alassa* (Hadjisavvas 2001) and *Palaepaphos* (Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 96, figs. 79–80). These elaborate friezes, apart from their decorative function, plausibly represent devices conveying particular messages, related to the centralised control and management of agricultural production (Webb and Frankel 1994, 18). It is therefore, not incidental that the vast majority of the pithos fragments with relief-friezes from Maa were found inside Building III (or pits related to Building III), which was dedicated to storage activities. No such relief-friezes on pithoi were found at Pyla.

Another peculiarity of the Maa ceramic assemblage is the occurrence of several miniature handmade vases, mostly small juglets in Plain White ware (e.g. *M-P* 76, 235). They are uncharacteristic of domestic assemblages, and are better in place in religious contexts (Webb 1999, 12), perhaps indicating that some form of religious practices (at a household level) were taking place inside the LC residences at Maa.

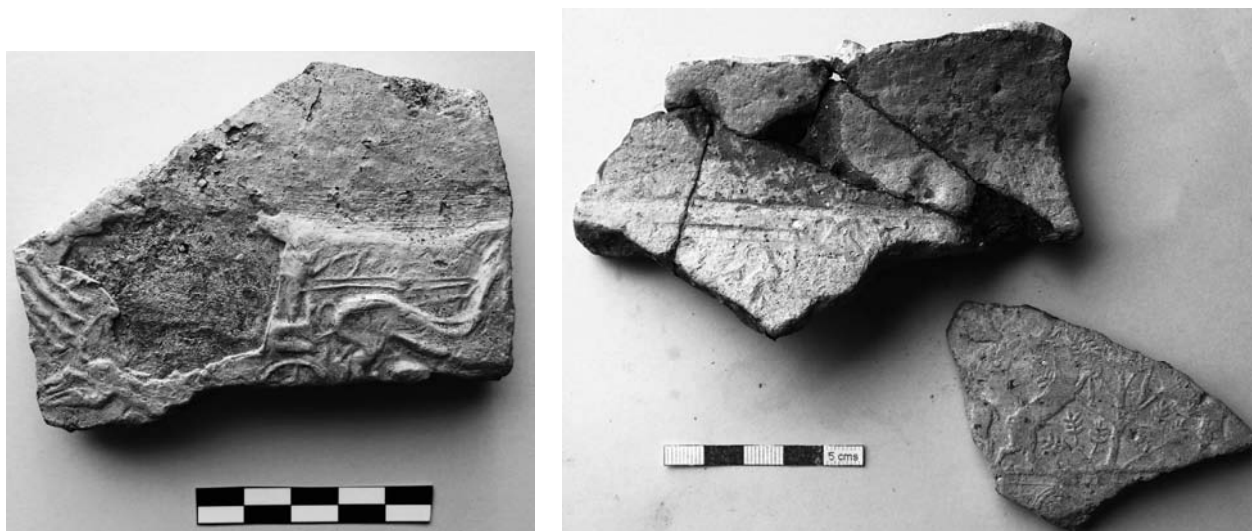


Figure 5.5 (left): Body fragment of a Plain White ware pithos/pithoid jar with a cylinder-seal impression depicting a chariot-hunting scene (*M-P* 684, photo by the author).

Figure 5.6 (right): Shoulder fragment of a Plain White ware pithos/pithoid jar with a cylinder-seal impression depicting goats feeding from olive-trees (*M-P* 624, photo by the author).

A few clay bathtubs were excavated at both sites (*P-K* 30, 30A, 117, *M-P* 393, 588, 616). They are of a similar type, approximately rectangular with rounded corners, vertical straight/slightly convex sides widening upwards with a thick rim, and two sets of opposing vertical handles on either side of the long faces. Their base is flat and they all preserve a perforation near the bottom. The function of clay bathtubs remains unknown; it is possible that they were multifunctional, used as watering troughs for animals, washing basins for textiles (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 34), or had religious/ideological connotations.

“Canaanite” jars are quite popular at Pyla, but they are especially prevalent at Maa, where they are found in large numbers (Hadjicosti 1988). The most common type of “Canaanite” jar from both sites has a plain rim, short concave neck, carinated shoulder, ovoid body, vertical handles and button-toe base (*e.g.* *P-K* 109, 111, *M-P* 310, 319). Other examples are found exclusively at Maa and include jars with rounded base (*eg.* *M-P* 265+500, 339), or four vertical handles (*M-P* 545). The great numbers of “Canaanite” jars at Pyla and especially at Maa are indications that the sites were very active in trading activities. Petrographic analysis on the Maa “Canaanite” jars has demonstrated that they were manufactured in different centres or workshops and that at least some of them are of Cypriot origin (Jones and Vaughan 1988, 393).

The majority of the fine-wares from both sites are White Painted Wheelmade (WPWm) III vessels, which entail Aegean-style wheelmade vessels of local production. The bell-krater from Pyla, bearing the depiction of a human figure flanked by two chariots, on either side of the handle-zone is a rare find for settlement-contexts, and was possibly locally produced (Iacovou



Figure 5.7 (left): WPWm III deep bowl from Pyla-Kokkinokremos decorated with antithetic spirals on handle-zone (*P-K* 1952/22, photo by the author).

Figure 5.8 (right): WPWm III deep bowl from Maa-Palaeokastro decorated with curve-stemmed antithetic spirals, in between a vertical frieze (*M-P* 385, photo by the author).

2006b, 193; *cf.* Karageorghis 1982, 81). It bears reparation marks with lead attachments, which further enhance its importance (Karageorghis 1982).

The range of WPWm III shapes from Pyla is limited to deep bowls (*Fig. 5.7*), shallow bowls, amphoroid- and bell-kraters and very few jugs and juglets. Maa has a broader spectrum of shapes in WPWm III. The vast majority of this ware comprises deep bowls (*Fig. 5.8*), although shallow bowls, kylikes and bell-kraters are also rather frequent. A peculiarity of the deep bowls from Maa is the common use of monochrome solid paint on the interior (Kling 1988, 334). Closed vessels such as stirrup jars, jugs, feeding bottles, strainer jugs and amphoriskoi are much rarer.

Decoration on WPWm III vessels consists of linear motifs, most commonly spiral decorations (*Figs. 5.7–8*), lozenges, quirks and others. More rarely, pictorial depictions are also portrayed. Pyla has depictions of bulls in the “Pastoral Style” (*P-K* 1953/V 21–25) which are not found in the ceramic repertory of Maa. Conversely, the pottery from Maa includes pictorial depictions of fish and birds (*e.g. M-P* 9, 90, 91, 107, 250) that are not found at Pyla. With the profound exception of the Pyla chariot-krater, which remains a unique pictorial vase in the context of LCIIC-III A (Iacovou 2006b, 193) none of the ceramic assemblages of the two sites portrays human figures.

Pyla and Maa also have the usual array of traditional handmade LC IIC wares, represented mostly by Base Ring II and White Slip II fragmentary vessels. Base Ring wares are more frequent, and mostly include Y-shaped bowls with a wishbone handle (*e.g. P-K* Gr. K/a-g, *M-P* 171), while bowls with a lug handle, jugs and juglets are rarer (*e.g. M-P* Courtyard A/Trays 18–

20, 32, Room 77/Trays 1–4). Some fragments preserve decoration in applied white paint (*e.g.* *M-P* North of Area 99/Tray 10). White Slip vases from Pyla and Maa include mainly bowls with painted decoration of the “ladder” motif (*e.g.* *P-K* Gr. A/a-i, *M-P* Courtyard A/Tray 32, Room 6/Tray 1). White Shaved ware fragments, all coming from juglets of the spindle-type with pointed bases, were found in small numbers at both Pyla and Maa (*e.g.* *P-K* Gr. I, *M-P* Courtyard A/Tray 2a).

Maa produced small numbers of imported Late Helladic vessels decorated with characteristically lustrous paint (*M-P* 128, Room 45/Tray 2, Street B/Tray 1). A significant corpus of imported material from Pyla comprises Late Minoan pithoi. Apart from the well-known examples of the large octopus amphoroid pithos (*P-K* 20) and the massive pithos decorated with birds, bucrania and a snake (*P-K* 1953/III-9/1), more such large pithoi fragments were identified (Karageorghis and Georgiou forthcoming).

Handmade Burnished ware (HBW) vessels from Pyla and Maa amount to a handful. HBW pottery is characterised by coarse clay with inclusions and a burnished surface. It is handmade, at a time when the wheel was in full use, even in Cyprus that had opted to continue the slow-wheel production of its fine-wares as late as the 13th century BC. At Maa a HBW jar has four lug-handles and pie crust ornamentation (*M-P* 255) (*Fig. 5.9*). A juglet decorated with two applied hook-like curves and a burnished surface found at Maa (*M-P* 529), originally identified as HBW, belongs to the Apliki Ware category. The HBW vessel from Pyla, which was brought to light during the 2010 expedition, has a short collar neck, ovoid body, two opposed handles with a broad lower part and flattened base. It was mended in antiquity by means of two sheets of lead, and analyses have shown that it was made in Sardinia (Karageorghis 2011, 89–90). Examples of HBW vessels in Cyprus were found in a number of LC sites, most of which were excavated at Kition, Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke (Pilides 1994). Despite the significance of this ware, it is important to stress that the examples discovered so far constitute merely a tiny fraction of the ceramic assemblage in LC settlements.

Maa has also revealed clay spools, which entail cylindrical objects of unbaked/roughly baked clay (*M-P* 406A-E, 485A-I). Their exact function remains unspecified, but they have been related to weaving activities (Rahmstorf 2005, 156). Spools recovered from the Maa-*Palaeokastro* settlement are often found in sets, further corroborating this suggestion. Pyla has produced no clay spools, and in fact very limited evidence related to textile-processing activities.



Figure 5.9 (left): Handmade Burnished ware jar, with “pie-crust” decoration from *Maa-Palaeokastro* (M-P 255, photo by the author).

Figure 5.10 (above): Bronze “violin-bow type” fibula, with engraved platform from *Maa-Palaeokastro* (M-P 2, photo by the author).

Metallic artefacts and metallurgical activities

Excavations at Pyla, both official and illicit, have brought to light three hoards of metal objects. The “Gold Hoard” of Pyla, excavated in 1952 by looters, includes gold earrings, gold beads, and thick gold sheets (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 60–62). The initial view put forward by Dikaïos that this constitutes a votive offering at an altar, (1969–71, 899), has been abandoned due to the absence of any religious connotations in the area and following the excavation of other hoards from the site. The excavators consider this hoard as part of the collection of a goldsmith who deposited it at a time of danger, but failed to retrieve it (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 62). The second hoard from *Kokkinokremos*, known as the “Founder’s Hoard”, contains fragments of a copper ingot, scrap metal, and bronze objects (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 55–57). The third hoard from the site consists of two silver ingots, and a fragmentary silver bowl (Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 64–65), probably a silversmith’s safe-keeping hoard, analogous to the goldsmith’s and coppersmith’s (or “Founder’s”) hoard. No hoards were discovered at the site of Maa, and in fact almost no gold artefacts.

Numerous weapons were excavated at *Maa-Palaeokastro*, such as arrowheads (M-P 5, 16, 23, 24, 32, 64, 128) and daggers (M-P 17, 36, 44, 70, 118), unlike Pyla where the only weapon excavated was a spearhead (P-K 61). Neither Pyla nor Maa revealed any Naue II swords. These cut-and-thrust swords, appeared in the Aegean in the 13th century, and their presence in Cyprus

(so far at Enkomi and unprovenanced contexts [Pilides 1994, 99–101]) has been linked to the presence of Aegean immigrants on the island (Karageorghis 1990, 19).

Two fibulae of the fiddle-bow type (*M-P* 2, 662) were found at Maa. *M-P* 2 (*Fig. 5.9*) has a raised bow with engraved platform, similar to Catling's Type A:c (1964, 241). These metallic artefacts have been associated with the introduction of a new style of clothing (Steel 2004, 196).

The *Kokkinokremos* settlement produced a bronze weight with a loop handle (*P-K* 60), which formed part of the "Founder's Hoard". The weight is hollow and was perhaps filled with lead, similar to the examples from Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (Courtois 1983, 123–124, K-AD 448–449). *P-K* 34 is a circular lead weight with a Cypro-Minoan sign engraved on one side. The amygdaloid/elliptically-shaped *M-P* 646 and 262 from Maa were identified as sling-bullets by the excavators; however, a row of projections on the outer part perhaps indicated metric values. It is therefore possible that these artefacts functioned as weights.

Apart from metallic finds, the excavations from the two settlements have also revealed instruments and remains of metallurgical activity. Such instruments include tuyère-fragments (*M-P* 1954.10) and a fragmentary pot-bellows (*M-P* 256) found at Maa. What is more, both sites contained significant amounts of copper slag, and Maa produced lead slag as well. Present evidence suggests that, at least in the case of Maa, and possibly also Pyla, smelting as well as melting and alloying of copper was carried out at the site (Zwicker 1988, 430).

Preliminary Conclusions

Both Pyla and Maa are in essence settlements "without past or future" (Iacovou forthcoming), established from scratch at the end of the 13th century BC, only to be abandoned a couple of generations after their establishment. Pyla appears to have had an even shorter time-span than Maa, and merely a single phase of occupation. The Pyla-hoards indicate that the inhabitants were unable to return and retrieve their hidden valuables, whereas in the case of Maa, the almost complete absence of gold artefacts might be an indication that the inhabitants either left willingly, or that they had enough time to rescue their most valued possessions.

The excavated remains of Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* and Maa-*Palaeokastro* present a number of differences, most importantly the fact that Pyla lacks the robust "Cyclopean" fortification system of Maa and structures using ashlar masonry. The ceramic finds from the two sites further indicate regional and perhaps also temporal differences. Pyla has produced several amphoroid kraters with "Pastoral-style" depictions, which are entirely absent from Maa, but are rather popular in sites of eastern Cyprus (such as Kition [*e.g.* Karageorghis 1981, pls. IX–XIII]). The corpus of WPWm III vessels from Maa shows close affinities with assemblages found inside tombs at Palaepaphos

(e.g. *Evreti* [Maier 1997], *Marchello* [Maier 2008, fig. 273:115–122] etc). The monochrome interiors of open vessels, the curve-stemmed antithetic spirals on deep bowls, and the popularity of the kylikes are common features between these two sites. *Maa-Palaeokastro* further displays close links with *Alassa-Paliothaverna* in terms of the decorative treatment of Plain White ware pithoi and the occurrence of cylinder-seal impressions on such storage vessels (Keswani 2009, 123).

The excavated remains suggest that the two sites had similar functions, related to protection and defence. However, their role was not confined to security, and it is evident from the archaeological record that they were used for storage and also for metalworking activities. Furthermore, they were possibly related to activities involving sea-borne trade, as is testified by the great amounts of imported goods, as well as the numerous metallic and lithic weights excavated at the two sites (Courtois 1984; 1988). Both sites produced numerous Cypro-Minoan signs inscribed on pottery, and *Maa-Palaeokastro* has also produced a number of Cypro-Minoan inscriptions on the shoulders of pithoi (*M-P* 140, 530, 598), not unlike other LC settlements (for instance at *Maroni-Vournes* [Cadogan, Driessen, and Ferrara, 2009]). This might indicate that *Pyla* and *Maa* had some form of administrative functions. This is especially true for *Maa* where stamp- and cylinder-seals were also discovered (*M-P* 188, 420, 560, 639).

Due to their topography and limited period of occupation, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* and *Maa-Palaeokastro* cannot be considered as urban centres on their own account. They were, nonetheless, prosperous sites which maintained the cosmopolitan character of LC coastal polities during the 13th century BC. One may note that at *Maa* there are more displays of wealth, as is suggested by the “Cyclopean” walls, ashlar masonry, faience vessels, seals and relief decorated pithoi. The architectural monumentality of *Maa* and the wealth of the excavated remains should be associated with a central authority that invested in the establishment of a fortified site. Correspondingly, the advanced planning of *Pyla* suggests that a central authority was also responsible for the project.

The identification of the *raison d'être* of the two sites is beyond the scope of the present paper and here I present some preliminary conclusions. The excavators have suggested that the two sites may represent the earliest establishments of Aegean people, who fled from their homeland and established themselves on the island (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 263–266). However, no cultural indicia, such as language, religion or mortuary practices, that would effectively enable us to trace intrusive “foreign” elements (see Hall 1997, 20–23; Iacovou forthcoming), were excavated at either *Pyla-Kokkinokremos* or *Maa-Palaeokastro*. On the same grounds, the presence of immigrants living and working at the two sites cannot be excluded.

Their challenged topography and short-duration notwithstanding, the material culture of Pyla and Maa does not differentiate them from other contemporary LC settlements. The architectural remains suggest that the two sites were well-organised ventures, which must have necessitated substantial investment in wealth and labour for their realisation. It has been suggested that Pyla and Maa represent the combined efforts of the inhabitants from the surrounding regions to nucleate in single areas (a form of “synoecism” [Steel 2004, 190]). This remains to be substantiated through archaeological investigations in the neighbouring areas. Alternatively, Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro might represent the initiative of the two urban centres of Kition and Palaeapaphos which rose to prominence during the transition from the 13th to the 12th century BC (Iacovou 2008, 631–632). The establishment of these two safeguarded sites may reflect the endeavours of the urban centres to consolidate their domains, to manage land/sea traffic and ensure the continuous and safeguarded copper processing and trade during these ‘Crisis’ years. These conclusions are of a preliminary character and should be validated pending on future archaeological investigations and further research.

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Note

- 1 I use the abbreviation *P-K* to denote the publication of Pyla-Kokkinokremos by Karageorghis and Demas 1984. The abbreviation *M-P* is used for the publication of Maa-Palaeokastro (Karageorghis and Demas 1988). The numbers that follow represent the Inventory Number of individual objects from the corresponding publications.

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THE EARLY CYPRO-GEOMETRIC I POTTERY: EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE FROM LAPITHOS TOMB 502

Anna P. Georgiadou

Introduction

The present paper forms part of a research project related to my doctoral thesis, which examines the Cypro-Geometric (CG henceforth) workshops of pottery production. It is based on a thorough examination of the ceramic material of Lapithos Tomb 502, aiming to review its chronology and define the pottery production of the early CG I period. Secondly, this paper intends to explore the possible operation of ceramic workshops in the regional framework of Lapithos during the CG period.

According to the currently established absolute dates, the CG I period spans from 1050 to 950 BC, and is subdivided into two phases: an early (CG IA: 1050–1000 BC) and a late (CG IB:

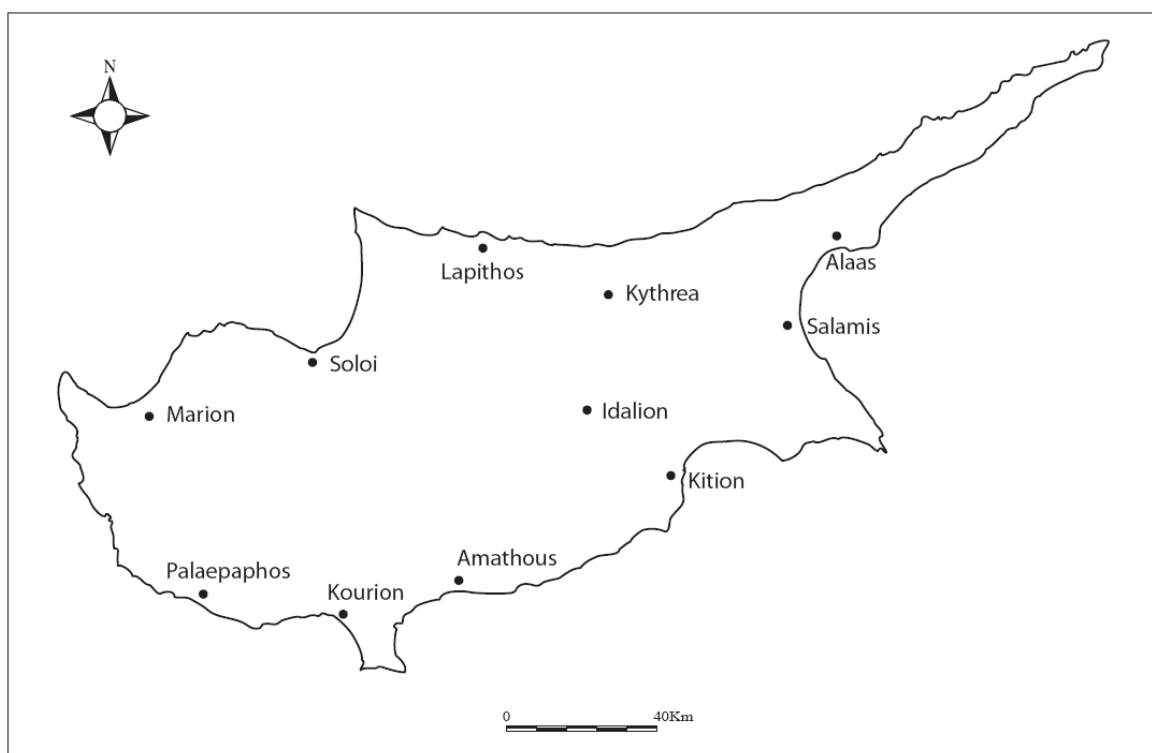


Figure 6.1: Map of Cyprus with sites mentioned in the text.

1000–950 BC) (Gjerstad 1948, 427). Although the conventional date of 1050 BC is considered to mark the initial phase of the Iron Age in Cyprus (Gjerstad 1944), the first half of the 11th century BC (Late Cypriot [LC] IIIB: 1125/1100–1050 BC) is increasingly being recognised as the inception of the Early Iron Age (Iacovou 2006, 191).

The archaeological record of the 11th (LC IIIB and CG IA) and 10th (CG IB-II) centuries introduces novel cultural aspects. These include alterations in the settlement pattern, funerary architecture and mortuary practices, language and pottery production (Iacovou 1999, 145–152). Currently, our knowledge of the CG period is provided to a great extent by mortuary data. Settlement, architectural and even epigraphical evidence are very insubstantial. As a result, the socio-political structures of the CG horizon remain difficult to comprehend. Even so, CG necropoleis have been excavated throughout the island, specifically at sites that had been previously occupied during the LC period – Palaepaphos, Kition, Idalion – and at other sites that were newly founded in the course of the 11th and 10th centuries BC – Salamis, Amathous, Kourion, Lapithos, Kythrea, Soloi, Marion (Iacovou 1994) (*Fig. 6.1*). Kition stands out as the only site to date with stratigraphic settlement evidence of the CG period (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 266–267, 278–279). Accordingly, we are forced to base our understanding of the CG period on the mortuary evidence, and as such, the study of the large quantities of vases deposited in CG tombs is of great significance.

General background of the study

A perspective for approaching the CG pottery is the analysis of the evolutionary process that led to its creation. Although the first attempts to produce wheelmade vessels were made in the LC IA (16th century BC) (Crewe 2007), it was only during the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods (13th–12th centuries BC) that pottery production was characterised by the establishment and further development of a wheelmade ceramic ware that is essentially Aegean in type. At the same time, however, it was accompanied by a wide range of different styles of pottery following local traditions (Sherratt 1991, 191–193).

In the subsequent LC IIIB horizon (first half of the 11th century BC) the variform pottery production was terminated by the appearance of a wheelmade ware, the Proto-White Painted (PWP henceforth) (Iacovou 1988, 1). As it is well established, the PWP ware represents the highest quality of Aegean-style pottery manufacture with the largest repertory of shapes of Aegean origin that are standardised and mass-produced (Sherratt, 1991, 193).

Therefore, the emergence of the White Painted I ware (WP I henceforth) which marks the pottery production of the following CG I period is inextricably linked with PWP ware, its natural

predecessor of the LC IIIB period. In effect, the main aspects of the manufacture of PWP ware are further consolidated, such as wheelmade technology and mainly the mass-produced and standardised character. Moreover, the WP I ware together with the newly introduced Bichrome I ware in the CG I repertoire are distinguished by a remarkably long duration of production and circulation from the Cypro-Geometric to the Cypro-Classical period.

Let us now turn to a more practical ground for the approach of the pottery of the CG period. In the first half of the 20th century Einar Gjerstad set up the typological and chronological system of the Cypriot Iron Age pottery largely based on tomb groups excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (Gjerstad 1948). To this date Gjerstad's system constitutes the major point of reference for the Cypriot Iron Age and undoubtedly sets the foundation for every ceramic study (Nys 2008).

Nevertheless, it has been pointed out by several scholars (Iacovou 1988, 7; Adelman 1976, 2–3) that the typological classification of the CG pottery, as it is founded in the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol.2/IV* (Gjerstad 1948) and slightly adapted afterwards (Gjerstad 1960) presents numerous inconsistencies regarding the classification and the dating of several vases and therefore tomb groups. Furthermore, the classification system is inadequate in terms of regional typological variations since it does not encompass a corpus of the typological varieties of the shapes but is based on the principal forms only (Adelman 1976, 2; Nys 2008, 68–69). This inadequacy to determine and establish local variations of the CG pottery repertoire becomes compelling in light of recent excavations and resultant new material that cannot be fitted in the established typology.

Consequently, it is necessary to determine the operation of regional pottery production and workshops. In fact, Gjerstad had already perceived a regional style of the late CG III pottery production and divided the island into two cultural unities: the eastern and the western (Gjerstad 1948, 64). The work of Adelman, however, has taken the study of the CG pottery a step further, since he approached several CG tomb groups from various regions with the ultimate purpose of identifying distinctive workshops of pottery production as well as the hand of potters/painters (Adelman 1976). As is demonstrated in the study of Adelman, the regional element in CG pottery can be traced through the manufacture and the popularity of particular shapes, and decorative patterns associated with specific regions. The character of the CG pottery production, so far recognised as homogeneous and standardised between the various regions, has obscured the regional elements. Thus, the identification of regional production centres of CG pottery will contribute to an understanding of the interactions between specific CG centres and their connections with other sites of the eastern Mediterranean.

In this paper I discuss the ceramic evidence of Lapithos Tomb 502, which constitutes an interesting case for analysis because of the wide range of its ceramic material.

Lapithos Tomb 502

The CG horizon of Lapithos is known exclusively from necropoleis, which are situated at different localities. Regrettably, there is no topographical map with all the known localities of Lapithos. Evidence from the LC IIIB period is displayed by a tomb assemblage illustrated by Ohnefalsch-Richter (1893, 296) but there is no information regarding its exact location. Another LC IIIB burial with an upper burial of CG I period was found in Tomb 503 located at *Agia Anastasia* (Pieridou 1972; Gjerstad 1944, 103) alongside the tomb under discussion here.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated 29 CG tombs (Tombs 401–429) from the locality *Kastros* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 172–265) and three CG tombs (Tombs 601–603) at the locality *Plakes* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 265–276). The Philadelphia Museum also excavated a CG necropolis at the site *Prostemenos*, which remains unpublished with the exception of Tomb 74 published by Pieridou (1965). The material from Lapithos-*Kastros* (Lower Cemetery) also from the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania Museum was examined in the unpublished thesis of J. Donochoe (1992). This thesis notes that the site *Prostemenos* should be properly identified as the *Kastros*-Upper Cemetery (Donochoe 1992, 11, note 14; this necropolis is currently being examined by S. Diakou, Bryn Mawr College, in her doctoral thesis). Four other CG tombs were discovered at the locality of *Karavas* which were also published by Pieridou (1964).

Tomb 502 under consideration is otherwise known as T.2 and was published in 1966 by A. Pieridou who produced the catalogue of its burial gifts. It was located at the plateau of *Agia Anastasia* and was excavated by the Curator of the Cyprus Museum Markides in 1915. Gjerstad subsequently tried to locate the tomb and registered it under the number 502 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 162–164). Unfortunately, there is neither a plan for the tomb (only a description of the plan is provided: chamber tomb with a dromos) nor information regarding the skeletal remains, the number of inhumations and the arrangement of the objects in the tomb. On the other hand, this tomb constitutes a quite particular and unique case: the CG burial stratum was found on top of a LC IIC-LC IIIA burial (Pieridou 1966, 11). For the needs of the present paper I will concentrate on the CG material, which I was able to examine in the Cyprus Museum following the kind permission of the former Director of the Department of Antiquities, Dr. P. Flourentzos.

Methodology

In her article, Pieridou clearly pointed out the significance of this material regarding the range of CG shapes, which are all assigned to the CG I period. She only distinguished some pottery types as early CG I. However, in her 1973 study of PWP pottery she illustrated several vases of the tomb as PWP types (analysed below). In addition, in Pieridou's article the ceramic assemblage was not adequately illustrated and there were no drawings.

The examination of the tomb group shows that it can be properly assigned to the CG IA period following a comparative study of its stylistic and contextual attributes with other securely dated CG tomb deposits. Specifically, a reliable relative chronological sequence of LC IIIB and CG I deposits is provided by the publication of the LC IIIB necropolis of Alaas (Karageorghis 1975), the study of Iacovou (1988, 4–11) and the study by Adelman on several CG I tombs from Lapithos-*Kastros* (1976, 58–60) in combination with the work of Steel on the chronology of the CG tombs from Kourion-*Kaloriziki* and Episkopi-*Bamboula* (1993). Furthermore, the typology of the CG I ceramic types of the necropolis at Palaepaphos-*Skales* has improved our knowledge of the respective material (Karageorghis 1983, 351–368), as well as the publication of a CG IA burial deposit from Amathous (Iacovou 2002) and finally the settlement strata from Kition from Floors II, I-II and I (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 266–267, 278–279).

In addition to the definition of the chronological framework of the tomb under discussion, the designation of the contemporary regional framework is also of great significance for the present study. This implies a further comparison of the tomb with the other CG tomb deposits from Lapithos in an attempt to identify characteristics of the respective pottery production. In this case, the basis of pottery comparanda are drawn from *Agia Anastasia* T.503B (Pieridou 1972), *Prostemenos* T.74 (Pieridou 1965) and from *Kastros* T.406, T.417, T.420 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 194–201, 226–232, 234–240). All these tombs are safely dated to the CG IA period. Finally, it should be noted that the following ceramic analysis is complementary to Pieridou's article and is based on the descriptions of her catalogue.

Ceramic analysis

(The inventory numbers of the vases are in accordance with the first registration of the tomb as Tomb 2)

As indicated in *Fig. 6.2* which presents the analysis of the relative date of the tomb, the existence of several PWP vases testifies to its early character. The occurrence of LC IIIB survivals in CG IA deposits is a well established fact (Iacovou 1988, 7–8). Thus, in a total of 69 vases there is a minimum of 16 vases dated to the late LC IIIB or transitional LC IIIB-CG I period. *Fig. 6.3* also

Ware	Date	LC IIIB/ LC IIIB-CG I	CG I	Undetermined	Total
PWP/ PWP-WP I		13			13
LCIIIB Bichrome		1			1
WP			37		37
Bichrome			4		4
Black Slip			6		6
Plain White		2	1		3
Coarse Ware			3		3
Foreign Ware				2	2
Total		16	51	2	69

Figure 6.2: Distribution of the vases from T.502 according to relative dates and pottery wares.

WARES	PWP/PWP- WPI	PWP- Bichrome	Plain White LCIIIB	WP I	Bichrome I	Black Slip I	Plain White I	Coarse Ware	Foreign Ware	Total
SHAPES										
Shallow and wide bowl				3						3
Deep bowl	4									4
Miniature bowl	1			8						9
Footed deep bowl	2			3						5
Stemmed bowl				2						2
Kalathos				2						2
Cup	1			2						3
Amphora belly-handled		1		2					1	4
Amphora vertical-handled	1		1	2			1			5
Amphora vertical-handled on belly				1						1
Amphora neck-handled				2		3				5
Jug trefoil-mouthed						3				3
Jug side-spouted				2						2
Jug round-mouthed			1					3		4
Flask	1			1	1				1	4
Globular Jug				5	3					8
Jar				1						1
Bottle				1						1
Kernos (?)	1									1
Ritual vase	1									1
Rhyton	1									1
Total	13	1	2	37	4	6	1	3	2	69

Figure 6.3: Distribution of vases from T.502 according to shape and relative date.

clearly illustrates the early CG I date of this material as evidenced by the predominance of the WP I ware in contrast with the Bichrome I (Bichr I) and Black Slip I (BISl I) wares. The two latter wares prevail only during the subsequent CG IB phase. The wide range of open and closed forms from this tomb group is remarkable.

The PWP ware is distinct from WP I in terms of technical, morphological, and decorative differentiations. Particular significance has been attributed to the distinctiveness of the paint of the two wares (Iacovou 1991, 200). According to naked-eye observations of the present ceramic assemblage, the fabric of PWP ware is either buff-brownish or buff-pinkish and more rarely greenish. The clay is hard- to medium hard-fired and more rarely soft-fired and is variably well sifted and somewhat gritty. The surface of the vases is covered with either a diluted coating of the same clay, which is smooth and often flakes off, or a thick beige to beige-brownish encrustation, well smoothed and sometimes polished. When washy, the matte black paint changes after the firing to orange or light brown tones. This quality of the paint constitutes a distinctive trait of the PWP vases. The black to dark brown paint is sometimes rather thickly applied on the surface and usually flakes off after firing.

As for WP I ware, the fabric appears to have the same colours as PWP. It is medium hard to soft and the clay is well sifted. A diluted clay coating is sometimes observable on the surface. The matte black paint is, as a rule, applied in a thin layer which does not flake off, and has a dense or washy composition.

Open Shapes

Footed deep bowls/skyphoi: T.2/24; T.2/25; T.2/27; T.2/28; T.2/29 (Pieridou 1966, pl. III; not illustrated T.2/24). This shape occurs repeatedly in the CG IA Lapithian tomb deposits and continues to be produced during the entire CG period. Specimens T.2/27 and T.2/24 (*Fig. 6.4*) represent the earliest variant of the type already known from other LC IIIB sites, such as Alaas (Karageorghis 1975, pl. XVIII). The skyphos T.2/27 should be reclassified as PWP and not as WP I on the basis of its shape, with the double curved outline and the form of its conical foot, as well as its fabric. Pieridou also included this vase in her study of PWP ware (Pieridou 1973, tab. 4:2). The example T.2/24 is a transitional PWP-WP I type. Aside from the broad-banded decoration on the skyphoi, observed on the above specimens, a new decorative scheme appeared on the handle zone at the end of the LCIIIB, that of the panelled abstract linear decoration. (Iacovou 1988, 37 with notes). The bowl T.2/29, clearly dated to CG IA, is thoroughly discussed by Iacovou for its figurative composition (1988, 52, 67, 70). The other bowl worth mentioning is T.2/28 (*Fig. 6.4*). This shape, with the decorative composition on the handle zone of a central



Figure 6.4: Footed deep bowls (T.2/27, T.2/24, T.2/28) and cups (T.2/22, T.2/23, T.2/21) (Drawings by the author).

metope constituted by an elaborated lozenge and flanked by two narrow vertical panels filled with a chain of latticed lozenges, finds numerous parallels in the early CG I Lapithian tomb deposits (*Kastros*: T.406, T.417; *Prostemenos*: T.74). Specifically, Adelman has already observed this particular production of such lavishly decorated deep bowls in Lapithian tomb groups (1976, 52–57). Indeed, the identical manner of rendering this abstract decorative composition led Adelman to identify the hand of an individual potter/painter.

Cups: T.2/21; T.2/22; T.2/23 (*Fig. 6.4*) (Pieridou 1966, pl. III, illustrated only T.2/21). Although the cup has PWP antecedents, it is not a regular shape in the LC IIIB deposits. For instance, at Alaas there is only one specimen in PWP (T.17/1 [Karageorghis 1975, pl. LXI]) and none in the LC IIIB burial of Lapithos T.503. However, the shape occurs in large numbers from the end of LC IIIB onwards as is indicated, for example, by the CG IA Tomb I from Salamis (Yon 1971, pl. 38). Their production also seems to increase at Lapithos during CG IA. Cup T.2/22, judging from its shape, with the more elegant, curved body and conical foot, and the quality of the fabric should be reclassified as PWP. The examples of T.2/21 and T.2/23 depict variations of the same form in WP I ware of the CG IA period.

Footed carinated bowls: T.2/17; T.2/18 (Not illustrated in Pieridou 1966). These are two identical vases of WP I ware. The WP I bowl (*Fig. 6.5*, T.2/17) has a shallower body with a less

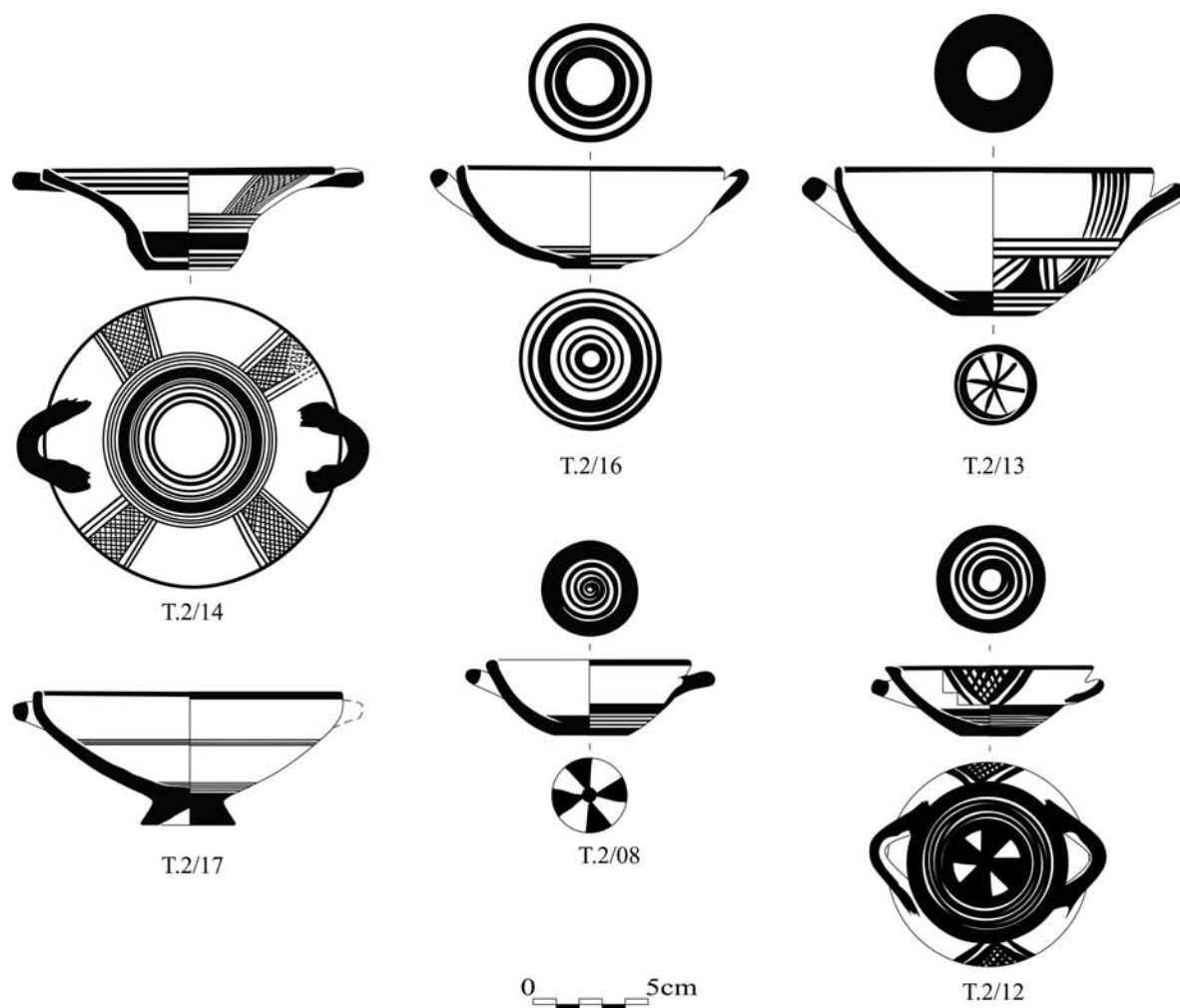


Figure 6.5: Kalathos (T.2/14) and Bowls (T.2/17, T.2/16, T.2/13, T.2/8, T.2/12) (Drawings by the author).

pronounced carination below the vertical plain rim compared to its PWP counterpart (Pieridou 1973, tab. 3:1). The strap handles, and the conical foot remain almost the same. The decoration is restricted to a few horizontal lines. Generally, this bowl is a rare type in CG IA tombs at Lapithos and its production ceases at the end of the period. The closest parallel for T.2/17 comes from T.406/44 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXIII).

Kalathoi: T.2/14; T.2/15 (Not illustrated in Pieridou 1966). Two identical small versions of the flat-base type of kalathos in WP I ware were found in the tomb group (Fig. 6.5, T.2/14). The kalathos is a prevailing shape in the repertory of LC IIIB (see for example Alaas [Karageorghis 1975, pl. XXX]). It characterises the early CG I tomb deposits of Lapithos. After the end of this period kalathoi become an obsolete form. The decoration of the example here with the narrow vertical latticed panels is an advanced feature from PWP equivalents which are, as a rule,

decorated with inverted latticed triangles or with wider panels filled with motifs at the end of LC IIIB. Close parallels are T.420/51 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXIV) and T.74/31 and T.74/274 (Pieridou 1965).

Bowls: T.2/16; T.2/19; T.2/20 (Not illustrated in Pieridou 1966). There are three almost identical small bowls in this tomb. They have deep hemispherical bodies, convex sides and two horizontal arched handles, on a small, slightly raised flat base (*Fig. 6.5*, T.2/16). This variation of bowl, which recalls metallic prototypes, is present in the LC IIIB tomb deposits (Pieridou 1973, 75; tab. 2) but it is not a common feature of the ceramic repertoire. The present examples of bowls should be reclassified as PWP judging by their fabric and their shape, especially the form of the base. The WP I equivalents in the CG IA tomb groups of Lapithos have a shallower and wider body on a base-ring or a clearly formed raised flat base, for example T.406/29 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXIII) and T.74/47 (Pieridou 1965).

Bowl T.2/13 (*Fig. 6.5*) (Pieridou 1966, pl. III, 1) constitutes a rare variant of the shape. It has a conical body, with convex sides, slightly incurved rim and a narrow flat base. Its decorative syntax is divided into two registers and consists of groups of vertical lines on the upper part and a horizontal frieze of double framed solid triangles on the lower sides. Bowls with the decoration divided into two registers with the lower one invariably filled with a frieze of solid or latticed triangles are known from tomb assemblages of the end of the LC IIIB and beginning of CG I, for instance the tomb group of T.I of Salamis (Yon 1971, pl. 37). On the basis of its shape and decoration, bowl T.2/13 could be considered as a PWP-WP I transitional type. In the CG IA this

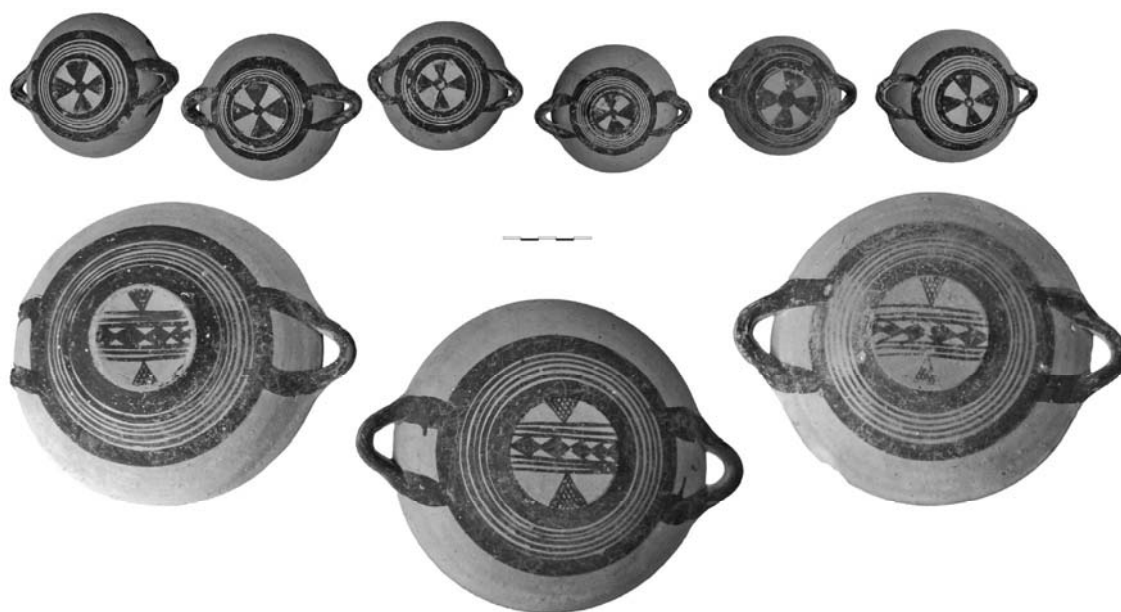


Figure 6.6: Series of miniature bowls and wide and shallow bowls deposited in Tomb 502 (Photo by the author).

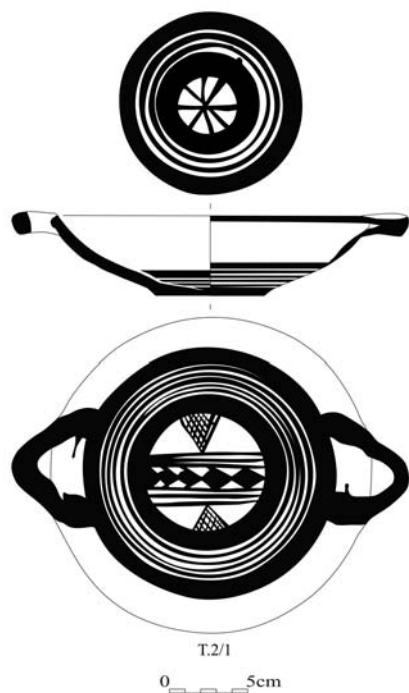


Figure 6.7: Wide and shallow bowl (T.2/1) (Drawing by the author).

ceramic type has many variants with a wider and shallower body such as T.420/55, T.420 /70 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXIII).

Miniature bowls: T.2/4; T.2/5; T.2/6; T.2/7; T.2/8; T.2/9; T.2/10; T.2/11; T.2/12 (illustrated only T.2/12, Pieridou 1966, pl. III, 3). Bowls T.2/12 and T.2/8 (Fig. 6.5) are the most representative of this abundant series of miniatures. Bowl T.2/12 with conical body, everted flat rim and a flat base is decorated in the handle zone with an inverted double framed latticed triangle, while the rest of the body is covered with horizontal lines and bands. This ceramic form constitutes a fairly rare type in the ceramic repertory of Lapithos not only because of its small size but also its decoration. Its closest parallels can be traced in Salamis Tomb I (Yon 1971, pl. 36/148,149).

The other bowl T.2/8 demonstrates clearly developed features, judging by its shape, decoration and fabric in comparison with the former T.2/12. Thus, T.2/12 should be classified under the transitional phase PWP-WP I and T.2/8 as representative of WP I ware. Furthermore, parallels for the latter bowl are found in other tomb groups of Lapithos such as T.74/178 and 179 (Pieridou 1965). Finally, it should be noted that six examples of this category (T.2/5, T.2/6, T.2/7, T.2/9, T.2/10, T.2/11) are identical in size, shape and decoration. This suggests that they were made by the same hand (Fig. 6.6).

Shallow and wide bowl: T.2/1; T.2/2; T.2/3 (Not illustrated in Pieridou 1966). During the early CG I period, an increasing production of a shallower and wider variant of the bowl on a base (Fig. 6.7, T.2/1) is observed in the Lapithian deposits at the expense of the deeper bowl. As a shape, it is distinct from the plates which are shallower with a wider base. The latter form appears in the course of the CG IB and has a restricted production during the CG period only (Iacovou 1988, 39). The fact that there are no plates in the present ceramic assemblage indicates an early CG I date. The wide and shallow bowl acquires a decorative composition on the flat base. In particular, the present example is decorated with the specific composition of a horizontal panel in the axis of handles, which is filled with a chain of solid lozenges and two radiating latticed triangles symmetrically placed. This decorative pattern is confined to Lapithian production. The

three examples from this tomb are almost identical in shape and in decoration (Fig. 6.6). This precise decorative composition is also found on various bowls and plates in the locality of *Kastros* and is not confined to CG I deposits (T.406, T.413, T.420) but also appears in tomb groups of the latter CG period (T.408, T.425, T.428, T.601, T.602).

Closed shapes

Belly-handled amphorae: T.2/39; T.2/41; T.2/43 (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV:3). Overall, this shape is the hallmark of the LC IIIB period and continues to be popular in CG IA. In Lapithos particularly it has a continuous and steady circulation during the entire CG period. Starting with the amphora T.2/39 (Fig. 6.8), it should be reclassified to the LC IIIB Bichrome ware (see also Pieridou 1973, pl. 19:8). In fact, after having examined material from the necropolis of Alaas, I would suggest that this amphora could be attributed to the Alaas workshop. It displays very close affinities in terms of the rendering of its shape as well as the choice and the manner of the linear decoration. It also has the same fabric with respective specimens from Alaas, such as T.15/1, T.15/5, T.17/6 (Karageorghis 1975, pls. VI, XIV, XXII). It should also be noted that the bichrome technique is applied on this vase with the use of a second purple colour for outlining and filling the linear motifs.

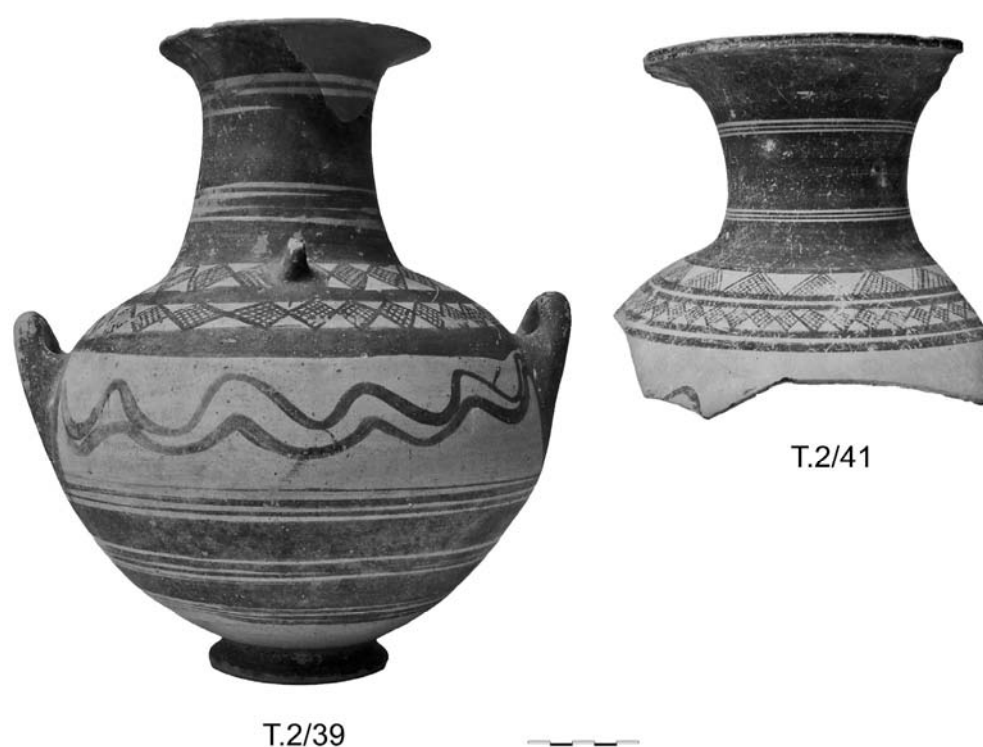


Figure 6.8: Belly-handled amphorae T.2/39 and T.2/41 (Photo by the author).

The fragmentary belly-handled amphora T.2/41 (*Fig. 6.8*) in WP I ware represents a CG IA variant of the shape in the Lapithian context. A close parallel is T.417/87 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXVIII). Similar belly-handled amphorae are found in Tombs 406 and 417 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pls. XLV and L).

Vertical-handled amphoriskoi/amphoroid krateriskoi: T.2/32; T.2/33; T.2/34; T.2/35; T.2/85 (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV, illustrated only T.2/34). The amphoriskos, in contrast with the large vertical handled amphora, was a common shape during the last phase of LC IIIB and continued to be popular during the CG IA period (Iacovou 1988, 35). The abundant examples from the tomb group testify to the popularity of the form in CG I tombs of Lapithos. The specimens here are executed in WP I ware (T.2/32, T.2/33, T.2/34) and in Plain White I ware (T.2/35, T.2/85). However, the amphoriskos T.2/34 (*Fig. 6.9*) should be classified as a late PWP type judging by its shape – the upward tapering neck, the form of the conical foot – and its fabric. A close parallel for this shape is T.503/13A in Plain White ware, dated to LC IIIB (Pieridou 1972, pl. XLI). The



Figure 6.9: Vertical-handled amphoriskoi (T.2/34, T.2/33), Neck-handled amphoriskos (T.2/36), Amphoriskos with vertical handles on the belly (T.2/37), Bottle (T.2/38) (Drawings by the author).

example T.2/33 (*Fig. 6.9*) is assigned to WP I judging by its concave neck, globular depressed body and conical splaying foot, its decoration, and fabric. Parallels for this type are found in T.74/33, T.74/36, T.74/126 (Pieridou 1965, pl. XIII).

Neck-handled amphorae and amphoriskoi: T.2/36; T.2/42; T.2/65; T.2/66; T.2/67 (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV, illustrated only T.2/65). The specimens T.2/36 and T.2/42 are rendered in WP I ware and T.2/65, T.2/66 and T.2/67 are in Black Slip I ware. This form of amphora which occurs in the repertory of LC IIIB (Pieridou 1973, tab. 22) is rather uncommon. Example T.2/36 (*Fig. 6.9*) is a WP I amphoriskos. The only parallel for its shape comes from tomb T.74/72 (Pieridou 1965, pl. XIV). According to the evidence from Lapithos, the circulation of the WP I version of the shape during the CG IA period is limited. Conversely, Black Slip I neck-handled amphoriskoi are better represented. However, the full-size vessel in WP I (here T.2/42) is a more frequent shape (for parallels see Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXIX, T.406/98).

Amphoriskos with vertical handles on the belly: T.2/37 (*Fig. 6.9*) (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV). This shape derives from the imitation of so-called Canaanite jars (Bikai 1987, pls. XXI, XXII, XXII) and is known from the end of LC IIIB (Pieridou 1973, 71; tab. 22, 8–9). The present specimen is of WP I ware and has a more developed shape than its LC IIIB predecessors which mostly have base-rings. It cannot be considered as a regular form of the CG IA Lapithian repertory. However, its manufacture, though limited, continues during the CG period and onwards. No exact parallels are found in the early CG I tomb deposits of Lapithos, although they are found more frequently at other sites such as Salamis T.I (Yon 1971, pl. 23).

Bottle: T.2/38 (*Fig. 6.9*) (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV). This shape with cylindrical body, carinated shoulder and two pierced lug handles at carination is also of eastern inspiration, specifically Philistine pottery (Dothan 1982, 160–161, figs. 34–35). The example of this ceramic assemblage is a WP I type developed from its PWP counterparts (Pieridou 1973, tab. 12). In Lapithos it is not a regular shape and its production ceased after the end of CG I. A very close, almost identical, parallel for the bottle T.2/38 comes from T.406/32 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXX).

Jar: T.2/30 (Pieridou 1966, pl. III). It should be noted that this WP I jar with vertical handles on the shoulder and a wide stemmed conical foot is a ceramic form following Syro-Palestinian models (Pieridou 1966, 12). This shape has no LC IIIB antecedents, and it first appears in CG IA

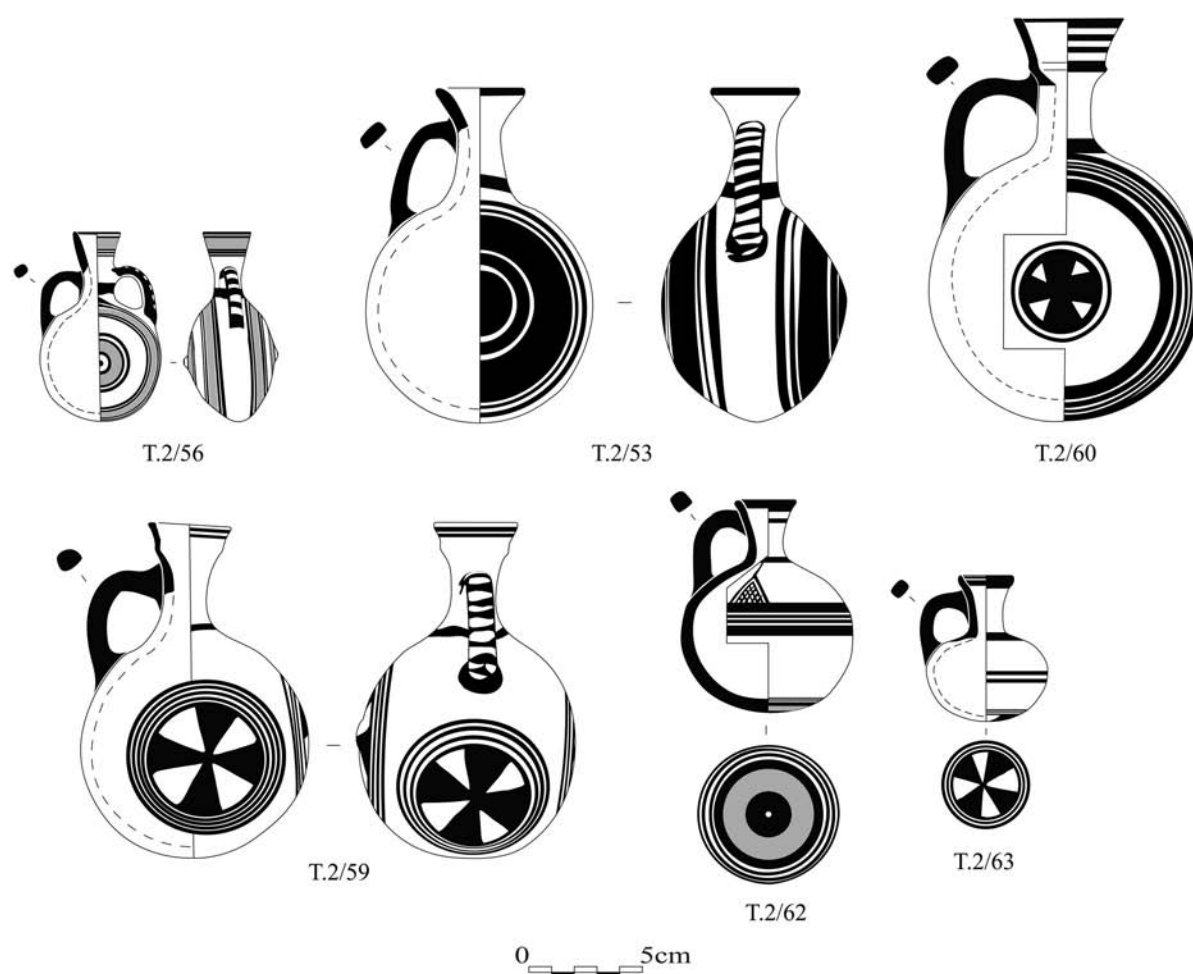


Figure 6.10: Flasks (T.2/56, T.2/53) and Globular Jugs (T.2/60, T.2/59, T.2/62, T.2/63) (Drawings by the author).

contexts. It is an uncommon ceramic type in Lapithos although its production continues during the ensuing periods. A parallel of this vase is to be found in T.74/158 (Pieridou 1965, pl. XIII).

Imports: The tomb group has also produced two Levantine imports: the bichrome amphoriskos T.2/40 and the pilgrim flask T.2/55 (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV). While the former is an extremely rare imported vessel, the pilgrim flask constitutes the most common Phoenician import deposited in LC IIIB and CG I tomb assemblages throughout the island (Bikai 1987, pl.VII; Iacovou 1988, 8). It was immediately incorporated in the Cypriot ceramic repertoire of the PWP ware and subsequently in the WP I and Bichrome I wares. The specimen T.2/56 (*Fig. 6.10*) is a locally produced miniature flask executed in Bichrome I technique. In general, numerous examples imported and locally made are recorded from the CG I tombs of Lapithos, for instance in T.74 (Pieridou 1965, pl. XIII).

Besides the double-handled flask, the variant of the one-handled flask is represented in this case by examples T.2/53 (*Fig. 6.10*) and T.2/54 (Pieridou 1966, pl. III/14 and 15 respectively –

wrong inventory number in text and plate). In fact, this shape is already encountered in LC IIIB contexts in both local and imported forms (such as at Alaas [Karageorghis 1975, pls. VII: T.15/13; XV: T.17/26]). Concerning the relative date of the example T.2/53, it should be reclassified as PWP judging from its shape, decoration, and fabric (see also Pieridou 1973, pl. 9:2). A parallel for this shape comes from T.417/57 as well as T.417/42 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXVII). This variant is apparent in the early CG I Lapithian deposits but its production ceased at the end of the period.

Globular jugs: T.2/57; T.2/58; T.2/60; T.2/61 (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV: T.2/61 and T.2/57). These constitute another shape abundantly represented in the tomb group, comprising a large variety of forms (*Fig. 6.10*, T.2/60). The globular neck-ridged jug is a Phoenician shape that was firstly imported to the island during the CG IA period (Iacovou 1988, 8, 36–37; Bikai 1987, pls. IV, VI). This form of jug was also imitated and adopted in the CG I ceramic repertoire. The examples represented in the tomb comprise local imitations of the shape in WP I ware (T.2/60, T.2/58) and Bichrome I (T.2/57; T.2/61).

When the shape of the globular body acquires more prominence on each side of the handle it forms a barrel-shaped body. The barrel-shaped jug T.2/61 (*Fig. 6.11*) is executed in Bichrome I ware. It is a popular shape during CG I and onwards at tombs in Lapithos. In general, the significant impact of this shape on the Cypriot ceramic repertoire is expressed firstly by the introduction of the Bichrome technique of the Iron Age (Iacovou 1988, 49–50). At this point it should be noted that the Bichrome I ware is considerably different from that of LC IIIB, since the second colour, red, supplements the principal black paint, and is employed only for the filling of horizontal bands and not for outlining.

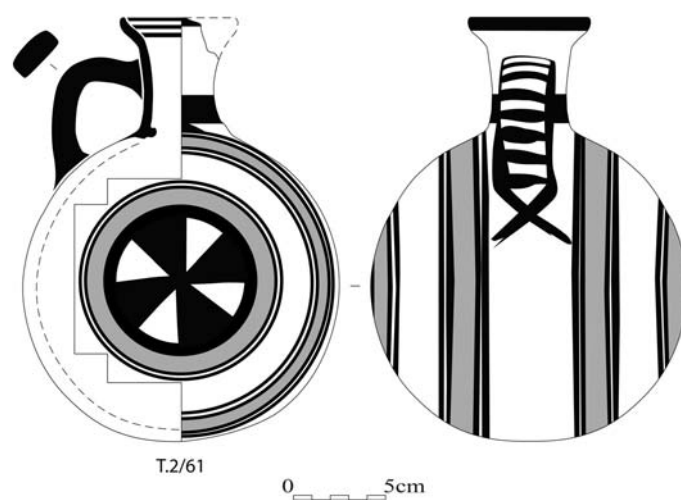


Figure 6.11: Barrel-shaped jug (T.2/61) (Drawing by the author).

Furthermore, a range of globular round-based jugs appeared for the first time in the Cypriot ceramic repertoire during the CG IA period. These are all indigenous pottery creations, influenced by the shape of the globular neck-ridged jug. Thus, the present assemblage provides evidence for the ceramic forms of the juglet with globular body T.2/62 (*Fig. 6.10*) in Bichrome I ware (Pieridou 1966, pl. III), the juglet with squat body T.2/63 (*Fig. 6.10*) and T.2/64 in WP I and for the type of the globular jug T.2/59 (*Fig. 6.10*) decorated with sets of concentric circles with a Maltese cross at the centre or with sets of spirals (Pieridou 1966, pl. III). Parallels of these three forms are attested in other CG I tombs of Lapithos (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXVII: T.408/62, T.409/8 and T.406/19 respectively). Nevertheless, the first two juglets cannot be regarded as regular types, while the last example is more common than the previous ones.

In addition to the new ceramic forms of jugs and juglets manufactured in CG IA other types of jugs already known from the LC IIIB tradition are represented in the tomb group. The side-spouted jugs T.2/51 and T.2/52 (Pieridou 1966, pl. III) executed in WP I have clear PWP antecedents (Pieridou 1973, tab. 9). The specimens here combine a vertical handle and a tubular spout without a cutaway formation and strainer. As a rule, the jug with tubular spout and a basket handle, otherwise known as feeding bottle, is a more frequent type in the Lapithian context than the vertical-handled type (see for example Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXVI:10, 11,12).

Before concluding the examination of the ceramic evidence of Tomb 502, it should be emphasised that the WP I ware represents the majority of the material, and that the other wares of the CG I period have a meagre presence (*Figs. 6.2–3*). Thus, the Bichrome I ware occurs only on ceramic forms of eastern inspiration which have been discussed above (flasks, globular jugs). The Black Slip I ware vessels from the tomb group include neck-handled amphoriskoi (analysed above) and trefoil-mouthed jugs (T.2/68, T.2/69; not illustrated in Pieridou 1966), which constitute the two preferential shapes rendered in Black Slip I ware. The standardised decoration of this ware is the vertical ribbing on the body of the vessel. The ceramic form of the trefoil-mouthed jug, a shape already known from the PWP repertory (Pieridou 1973, 66), appears in CG IA Black Slip ware and becomes a very popular type in the subsequent CG IB-II period (for parallels see Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXXVII:4).

Another type of jug is the round-mouthed T.2/84 (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV) in Plain White ware. The Plain White I ware is represented in the tomb by amphoriskoi with vertical handles (T.2/35; T.2/85 analysed above). In fact, the similarities between the shape and technical aspects of jug T.2/84 and examples of LC IIIB date from Tomb 503 suggest that this example should also be classified as LC IIIB Plain White (Pieridou 1972, pl. XLII:19, 20, 22). Another version of a round-mouthed jug with a wider orifice and neck is also produced in Coarse ware (T.2/86,

T.2/87, T.2/90, not illustrated in Pieridou 1966; for parallels Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXXIX/12, 16). Finally, in this early CG I tomb there are three more sophisticated ceramic forms: the horse-shaped rhyton T.2/80 in PWP-WP I ware (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV), the ritual vase T.2/31 also in PWP-WP I ware (Pieridou 1966, pl. IV) and a fragmentary belly-handled amphoriskos probably detached from a kernos (not illustrated). They constitute exuberant ceramic types following local traditions (Pieridou 1973, 64, 74). Overall, they are well known forms in the CG IA assemblages of Lapithos but not abundantly represented (for parallels see Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. CXXX).

Conclusions

In sum, the examination of Lapithos Tomb 502 indicates that it can be properly assigned to the CG IA period (1050–1000 BC). Thus, it is contemporary with the earliest CG tombs from the necropoleis of Palaepaphos-Skales, Kourion-Kaloriziki, Salamis Tomb I and the burial ceramic assemblage from Amathous (Iacovou 2002).

Primarily, the ceramic evidence of Tomb 502 – in accordance with the data from the other well known CG IA contexts – demonstrates that the early CG I horizon is characterised by a specific ceramic phase. This can be identified in an apparent continuation of several pottery traditions from the former LC IIIB period, as numerous types of vessels represented in the PWP repertoire (such as drinking sets, tableware and large containers) that are either of Aegean type, local inspiration or eastern origin (such as flasks, bottles and amphoriskoi with the handles on the belly, *Fig. 6.9*), were developed stylistically in WP I forms.

At the same time, during the CG IA period new vessel shapes were manufactured under either the influence of traditions from the Phoenician coast (globular neck-ridged jugs, globular juglets, jars) or according to local needs and traditions (wide and shallow bowls). Moreover, the new vessels began to be executed in a wider variety of wares, namely the Bichrome I technique. As analysed above, this technique is a novelty for the CG IA repertoire and is differentiated from the Bichrome technique of the LC IIIB period. These additions to the ceramic repertoire imply a differentiation in the needs, choices and tastes of the local clientele of the pottery production, expressed by the novel functions of these vessels: small vessels probably for unguents (such as juglets T.2/86, T.2/63 *Fig. 6.10*), larger slow-pouring vessels (*Fig. 6.10–11*) and wider and larger bowls probably for dry food (*Fig. 6.7*).

Secondly, this paper provides a starting point for the consideration of the existence of regional production. The examination of the ceramic evidence of T.502 in the framework of the contemporary CG IA Lapithian funeral context has indicated the existence of stylistic

peculiarities expressed by a predilection of specific shapes decorated with specific motifs. They are proved to be part of a distinctive ceramic production of Lapithos, since they are found in large quantities, dispersed to known localities in the area. It is also important to note that a considerable number of identical vessels produced by the same potter/painter, which clearly represent a fraction of exact series of pottery production, were deposited in this tomb group (*Fig. 6.6*). Moreover, the identification of a vessel produced by the Alaas workshop (*Fig. 6.8, T.2/39*) in this tomb indicates the existence of exchanges between the two sites in the north and eastern part of the island.

It is necessary to create different typo-chronologies in order to conduct an in-depth study of pottery production in each region. In this manner, other aspects which characterise a regional production may become apparent. Aside from the stylistic features in the manufacture and evolution of specific shapes, other chronological aspects of the production could be observed, such as the first appearance, the duration and circulation of the ceramic types. Finally, further scientific techniques for ceramic analysis such as petrographic and chemical studies could contribute to this endeavour.

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THE ANCHORAGE SITE AT KOUKLIA-*ACHNI*, SOUTHWEST CYPRUS: PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

Duncan S. Howitt-Marshall

Introduction

Maritime connectivity has played a key role in the social, political and economic development of Cyprus from prehistory to the modern age. Mineral rich with copper, the island was drawn into the international frenzy of trade and exchange in the Late Bronze Age (LBA *c.* 1650–1100 BC, traditionally Middle Cypriot [MC] III to Late Cypriot [LC] III), the height of which in the 14th and 13th centuries BC had a fundamental impact on the future development of social and political organisation. Exploitation of copper during this period facilitated the emergence of an economic elite, which controlled the trade of luxury imports and prestige items (Steel 2004, 150) and shifted the paradigm of early society on the island from small-scale provincial settlements to large-scale regional urban centres.

The advent of international trade, an early form of “globalisation”, and the establishment of an economic elite on Cyprus in the LBA was made possible by dramatic developments in ancient boat- and shipbuilding technology. The arrival of the square-rigged sail at the beginning of the second millennium BC (McGrail 2001, 112) and the construction of deep-hulled wooden vessels prompted an increase in seafaring and mercantile activity in the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, advances in seafaring technology significantly decreased the risk of going to sea and Bronze Age mariners were able to transport raw materials and luxury goods in large robust vessels along established trading routes. Sea-going vessels were able to carry large cosmopolitan cargoes of prestige items, ceramics and raw materials from port to port around the region, and many may have been representative of centralised commercial ventures. Cypriot urban centres were very much at the forefront of maritime trade and exchange, especially Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke on the east and southeast coast of the island.

It is something of a paradox that Palaepaphos on the southwest coast was missed off the maritime archaeological map despite being such an important political and religious centre during the LBA and Iron Age. In the western district more emphasis was placed on the harbour facilities

at Nea Paphos during the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, which became the largest military and commercial port on the island by the end of the first millennium BC (see Daszewski 1981; 1987; Hohlfelder 1992; 1995; Hohlfelder and Leonard 1993; Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993; Leonard *et al.* 1998). Yet little has been done to investigate the nature and development of maritime communication along this coastline in earlier periods, especially in the vicinity of the ancient settlement at Kouklia (Palaepaphos), the site of the first capital of the Iron Age Paphian Kingdom. Following the discovery of 120 stone anchors at the nearby site of Kouklia-Achni in 2005 (*Fig. 7.1*), this paper is a first attempt to give focused insight into the problems and perspectives of studying maritime connectivity in southwest Cyprus during the later prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

Southwest Cyprus in context

The setting of this research has its origin in the long-established tradition that southwest Cyprus is a distinct geographical region of the island (*e.g.* Rupp 1987), with a unique and dynamic cultural history. It is ostensibly the most remote region of Cyprus, furthest away from the continental landmasses of western Asia and the ancient civilisations of Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt. The region's early archaeological record was until the mid-1970s viewed as displaying a lack of material outside of a few notable Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites, and the only major urban settlement of any prominence in southwest Cyprus during the LBA was Palaepaphos.

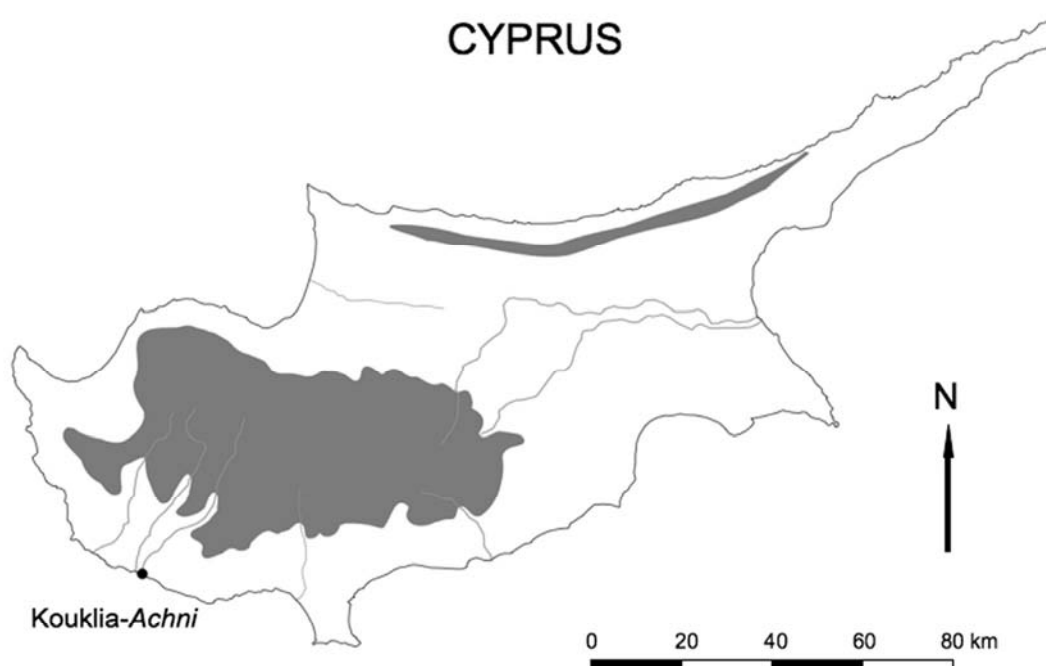


Figure 7.1: Map of Cyprus showing the location of Kouklia-Achni. The shaded areas indicate land over 400 m (Illustration by Blake Sawicky and Duncan S. Howitt-Marshall).

Since that time, however, the region has undergone a number of systematic, diachronic archaeological surveys, including Rupp (1981), Rupp *et al.* (1984; 1986; 1992; 1993), Maier and von Wartburg (1985) and the ongoing work of Maria Iacovou and the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus at Kouklia (Palaepaphos) (Iacovou 2008, 263–289). Despite the paucity of visible monuments that relate to the structure and formation of urban settlements in the wider area, these studies have yielded a great deal of information on the archaeo-cultural record of Palaepaphos throughout the LBA and Iron Age. Palaepaphos was also the site of the famous Sanctuary of Aphrodite, and despite its obvious geographical orientation towards Greece and the Aegean, many artefacts found display an amalgam of artistic styles and traditions from the Near East and Egypt. Regardless of the relative physical isolation, cultural contacts with the outside world were seemingly diverse and imported items indicate trade relations with Syria and the Levant during the LBA and Early Iron Age, as well as Crete and the Aegean.

The Greek historian and geographer, Strabo (63/64 BC-c. 24 AD) mentioned Palaepaphos and its harbour in his *Geographica*, as well as other mooring places along the southwest coast. He attributes the founding myth to Agapenor, an Arcadian king washed ashore in a storm on Cyprus while voyaging home from the Trojan War. The text explicitly mentions that the settlement was situated “at about 10 stadia above the sea” and has “well-built temples” (Strabo XIV.6.3). Current efforts to locate the original harbour by Maria Iacovou and the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project have tentatively concluded that the area to the east of the terrace on which the Paphian Sanctuary is situated provides the most likely candidate (Iacovou 2008, 271). This low-lying area is called *Loures*, which literally means “strips”, and would have once formed a well-protected cove in antiquity. Yet the location of the offshore anchorage to the south of Palaepaphos at Kouklia-*Achni* adds an interesting twist to the debate. What was the nature and extent of harbour facilities that served the Paphian Kingdom in the Iron Age? Could the anchorage at Kouklia-*Achni* be an earlier maritime terminus that once served the southwest region in the Bronze Age?

Fieldwork 2005–2007

In early 2005 I was introduced to Dr. Filios Saziedes, a practising cardiologist from Limassol with a life-long passion for the sea. Like so many underwater archaeological discoveries around the world, local knowledge and assistance from fishermen, divers and sailors is crucial to the protection and preservation of submerged cultural sites. In May 2005 Dr. Saziedes told me about an area approximately two and a half kilometres south of the modern village of Kouklia where he had sighted a number of large stone anchors lying on the seabed. This area is clearly visible from the coast road travelling from Limassol to Paphos and is situated off a small spit of land adjacent

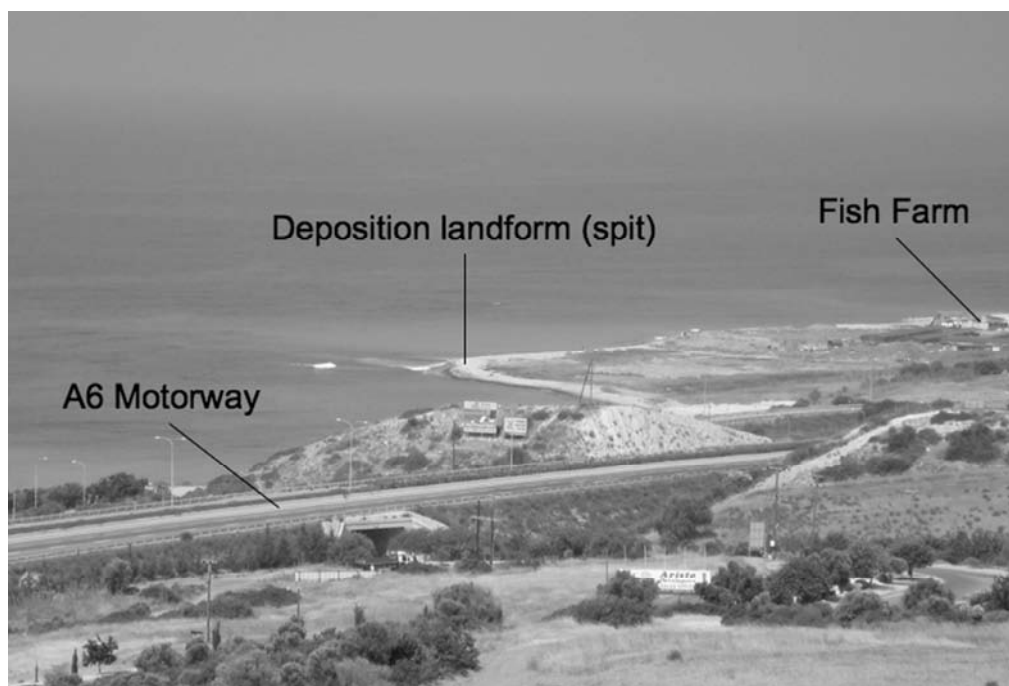


Figure 7.2: View of the anchorage site at Kouklia-Achni facing west. The A6 Motorway (Limassol to Paphos) in the foreground runs adjacent to the old coast road (B6), and a fish farm is located to the right of the site. A wave can be seen breaking over a submerged rocky outcrop to the left of the spit as sediments travel along the length of the landform; evidence of westerly winds and the longshore drift (Photo by Blake Sawicky).

to a modern fish farm (Fig. 7.2). We snorkelled approximately 50m from the shoreline and promptly located 15 or so stone anchors in 4 to 5m of water. The seabed in this area consists mainly of rocky outcrops and dense sea-grass meadows (*Posidonia oceanica*), and the anchors were situated in clusters of twos and threes in deep troughs and around the edges of the outcrops. From the outset it was clear that the site was an anchorage or mooring haven of some significance.

The anchors were recognisably similar to shapes and types classified by Honor Frost in other contexts around Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean as Middle and Late Bronze Age (Frost 1970a). Only a small number of underwater surveys around the island have located so many stone anchors in one place – significantly Sturt Manning and his team at Maroni in the late 1990s (Manning *et al.* 2000; Manning *et al.* 2002), Honor Frost's work at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke (Frost 1970b), and the early surveys by Jeremy Green off Cape Andreas in the late 1960s (Green 1973).

Subsequently, in the summer of 2005 an underwater search and survey was launched in collaboration with the Cyprus Department of Antiquities and members of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M University, with financial and logistical support from the THETIS Foundation. The team spent three weeks in June and July searching the area using basic diver-deployed

shallow water swim-lines. Divers worked their way out from the shoreline in pairs and methodically searched broad swaths of the seabed. Visibility was excellent on most days (15 to 20m) and during the course of the first season 120 stone anchors were discovered, including 24 three-holed “composite” anchors and 96 single-holed “weight” anchors (Howitt-Marshall and Leidwanger in press; Leidwanger and Howitt-Marshall 2006; 2008). Each anchor was photographed *in situ* using 1m and 0.5m scale sticks and a north arrow. A draft sketch was made followed by a series of careful measurements: anchor height, width, thickness

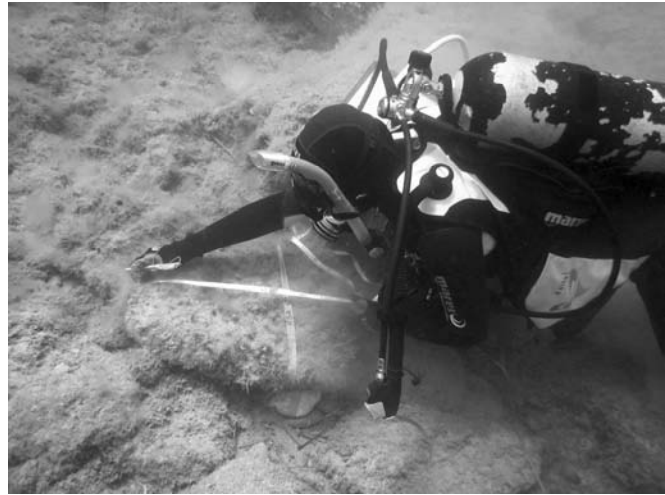


Figure 7.3: Stalo Eleftheriou, a diver-qualified archaeologist from the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, recording stone anchor “KSA 018”. Note the thick layer of marine algae covering the anchor and surrounding seabed. These dense deposits of vegetation help to conceal the anchors from would-be looters (Photo by the author).

and the diameter of the hole(s) (Fig. 7.3). These dimensions were then entered into a data spreadsheet and scale drawings were made of each anchor (Fig. 7.4). A weighted line was attached to a surface marker buoy (SMB) and each anchor was position-fixed from the surface using a hand-held GPS (Fig. 7.5).

Two more swim-line surveys were carried out in 2006 and 2007 to establish the full extent of the site, including a series of overlapping sweeps with a sidescan sonar further offshore. General purpose nautical ropes were laid across the seabed at 20m increments and each end of the 200m swim-lines were position-fixed by an SMB. Pairs of divers made their way along the lines recording depths and seabed topography, noting the positions of anchors en route. The sidescan sonar survey in 2006 was conducted by trailing a towfish behind the motor vessel, *Alexia II*. This gathered important data on any anomalies in the offshore approaches to the site, and gave a general impression of the nature of the seabed. It was found that the approaches were generally flat and featureless expanses of fine grain sand, pockmarked with rocky outcrops and dense meadows of sea-grass. Much of the sidescan sonar survey was conducted beyond depths achievable by scuba diving, but anomalies within safe range (i.e. to 30m) were verified accordingly.

The discovery of so many stone anchors on the seabed at Kouklia-*Achni* presents us with a number of problems in terms of understanding their context and origin. The underwater zone is strewn with rocky outcrops and sea-grass, and without any clear stratigraphic levels, analysis of these artefacts is condensed to basic typologies based on shape and size. These typologies were primarily established following the discovery of stone anchors in stratified and datable contexts

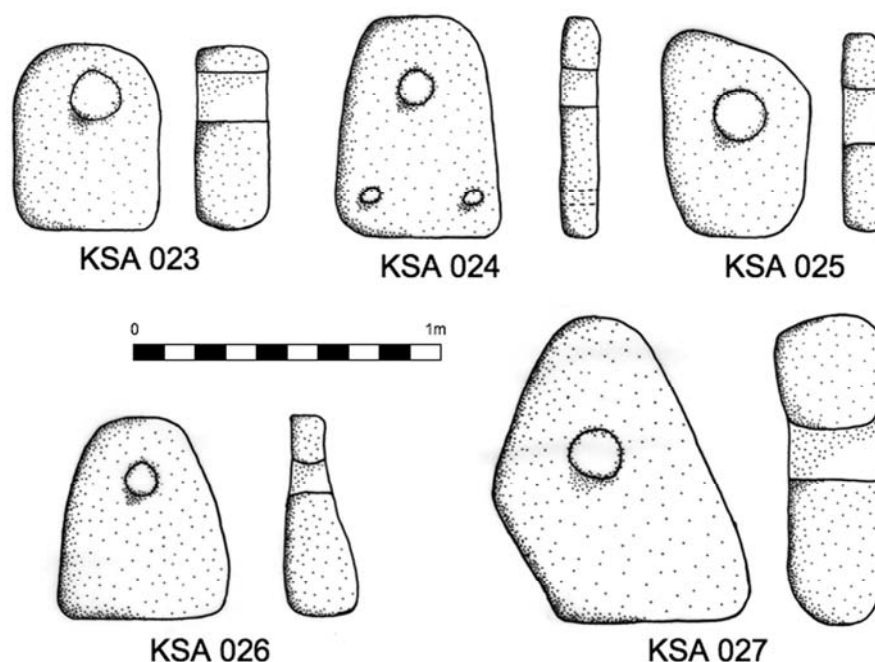


Figure 7.4: Scale drawings of five stone anchors recorded at Kouklia-Achni. These examples are a cross-section of the various shapes and types located at the site, including a three-holed “composite” anchor, single-holed “weight” anchors, and a large triangular Byblian anchor “KSA 027” (Drawings by Polly Westlake and the author).

on land, including temple complexes and tombs. Yet attributing a specific stone anchor to a specific region is fraught with problems, and is prone to the assumption that regional shapes and forms remained unchanged for centuries. Following the groundbreaking work on stone anchors in the eastern Mediterranean by Honor Frost (see discussion below), Dan McCaslin developed a refined typology for the LBA based on shapes, but conceded that stone anchors by themselves are not enough to determine sustained maritime communication (1980, 116). In the case of Cyprus, however, there are a number of sites that have contributed to our understanding of the broader significance of stone anchors in the LBA, as well as the characteristic styles that are particular to the eastern Mediterranean region.

For example, one stone anchor from the coastal settlement at Enkomi bears a distinctive Cypro-Minoan inscription (see McCaslin 1980, 26–27, fig.13.1). It was found at the bottom of a well and according to the excavator, Porphyrios Dikaïos, may have been a votive offering (Dikaïos 1969–71, 891). Stone anchors found at Hala Sultan Tekke were located in habitation levels, including walls, and several fragments were found in tombs, which may suggest a funerary connection (McCaslin 1980, 25). At Kition, Karageorghis cites dozens of votive anchors in a temple context located in stratigraphic levels dating to the 13th and 12th centuries BC (Karageorghis 1976, 60). Perhaps the most striking thing about the temple complex at Kition is

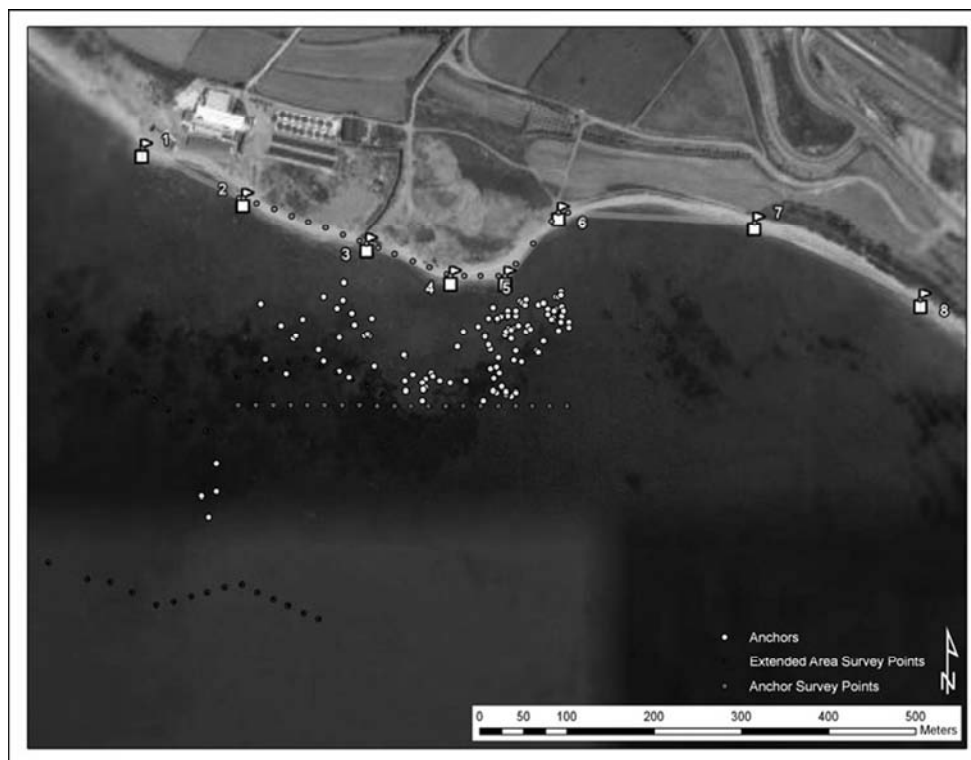


Figure 7.5: Satellite image of the anchorage site at Kouklia-*Achni* showing the positions of survey points (swim-lines) and individual stone anchors (Justin Leidwanger and the author. Image source: Google Earth).

its close proximity to the copper workshops and the harbour; stone anchors may have provided an association between metallurgy and religion (McCaslin 1980, 25).

A few words on stone anchors

It was the pioneering work of Honor Frost in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s that led to the first established typology of stone anchors in the eastern Mediterranean (Frost 1963a; 1963b; 1969a; 1969b; 1970a; 1970b; 1970c; 1973; 1979; 1982; 1986). The two main types of stone anchors found at Kouklia-*Achni* are composite and weight anchors. These types were classified by Frost primarily on their function: three-holed composite anchors for sandy and rocky bottoms, and single-holed weight anchors for low-lying reefs and rocky sea beds. We know from iconography and shipwreck archaeology that ancient vessels carried more than one of each type of anchor in anticipation of the various sea bottoms encountered en route. For example, the LBA merchant ship discovered at Uluburun off the southwest coast of Anatolia was carrying 24 stone anchors of both types when it sank in the late 14th century BC (Steffy 1994, 36–37).

At Kouklia-*Achni* the 120 anchors range in size from 30cm to over a metre in length. As the project was only granted a survey permit no anchors were excavated for weighing or stone sampling, but based on sheer size I estimate a number of anchors to be well in excess of 500kg.

The shapes range from simple ovals and crudely-carved rectangles to carefully crafted trapezoids and triangular forms. This last shape is reminiscent of examples found in the Levant, particularly the Neve-Yam group recorded by Ehud Galili and his team in the 1980s (Galili 1985; 1987; Galili *et al.* 1994). These triangular anchors with apical pierced holes have been classified by Frost (1970a, 381) as Byblian, and there are several examples from Kouklia-Achni that fit the visual characteristics and indices laid out by Galili *et al.* (1994, 97–106).

One of the most striking aspects of the assemblage of anchors at Kouklia-Achni is the disparity between the number of composite and weight anchors at the site. There are exactly three times as many weight anchors, 96 compared to 24. The reason for this may be very simple: the smaller single-holed weight anchors may in fact represent line weights. Indeed, Green (1973, 171–175) describes the principle of anchors and anchor-lines in his paper on the Cape Andreas Survey. In modern seafaring it is the anchor chain that holds the vessel and not the actual anchor. Metal anchor chains were not available in the Bronze Age, so the principle may have been achieved by the use of multiple single-holed line weights spaced at regular intervals along the hawser line with a large three-holed composite anchor at the end. This may explain the presence of clusters of both types of anchors in close relation to each other on the sea bed. As Green points out, if one anchor on the line gets “fouled” the hawser line may be severed to preserve the rest of the anchors (1973, 175). I would also argue that if the composite anchor at the end of the hawser line was fouled it may have been necessary to cut the rope relatively close to the gunwales of the vessel, thereby resulting in the loss of multiple anchors and line weights.

Environmental factors

In terms of the physical environment it is easy to see why southwest Cyprus has been missed off the maritime archaeological map. Travelling on the coast road from Limassol to Paphos, particularly along the area around *Petra tou Romiou*, the high cliffs on the edge of the Mamonia geological complex plunge steeply into the sea and the coastal plain is very narrow. The coastline is conspicuously devoid of natural bays or inlets for anchorages, and offers little protection from the prevailing winds coming from the west and northwest that blow throughout much of the year (see Murray 1995, 38–43). One of the key questions concerning this study is how much the coastline has changed over the last three millennia. Gifford (1978; King 1987, 10) estimated that sea-level rose approximately 2.52m per 1,000 years from the period 5,000 to 0 BC, reaching 0.5m below its current elevation at the end of that period. Flemming (1969; King 1987, 10) also concluded that sea-level in the Mediterranean has remained approximately at its current position over the last 2000 years. Based on these conclusions it would seem safe to assume that the modern coastline of southwest Cyprus looks more or less as it did at the end of the LBA. Yet we know that this region forms part

of a tectonically complex zone and major earthquakes and other seismic activity were commonplace during this period. Localised subsidence, uplift and inundation from drainage systems have dramatically changed the coastline in the last three millennia and further research needs to be done to provide a more accurate picture of the geomorphology in this region over time.

Andrew McCarthy in his analysis of the nearby Souskiou-*Laona* ridge and the Middle Chalcolithic “Souskiou Complex” in a paper on the Dhiarizos Valley noted that the viewshed from the settlement is conspicuously linear (Peltenburg *et al.* 2006, 101–102). He

suggests that the location of the settlement in relationship to the sea may have been at the “interface” of a key transport route linking the low-lying coastal plain to the uplands of the islands interior. This argument brings into play questions of visibility and the environment, which were critical to site location and communication networks. The site at Kouklia-*Achni* lies at the foot of the Dhiarizos Valley and may well have been intervisible with settlements, cemeteries and other landmarks in the uplands. The deep-time religious significance of this landscape continued to have resonance in the LBA and Iron Age, and the site location of Kouklia-*Achni* may have served as a vital maritime gateway to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos.

Archimandrite Kyprianos’ description of the area around Kouklia (Palaepaphos) in *Αρχιμανδρίτου Κυπριανού Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου* published in Venice in 1788 makes reference to a lake near the sanctuary that was large enough to serve as a port but silted up sometime in Antiquity. Interestingly, he goes on to mention that the still stagnant waters of the lake “made the air unhealthy and caused many illnesses” (Kyprianos 1788, 18). Indeed, longshore drift (the transport of sediments along a coastline) in the direction of the prevailing north-westerly winds along the western seaboard has no doubt been a major factor in re-shaping the coastline since the Bronze Age. Remote sensing in 2006 using sidescan sonar tracked large amounts of sedimentation in the area immediately offshore the nearby Dhiarizos River (Howitt-Marshall and Hühnerbach 2006), and may have been one of the principle reasons why the original port silted

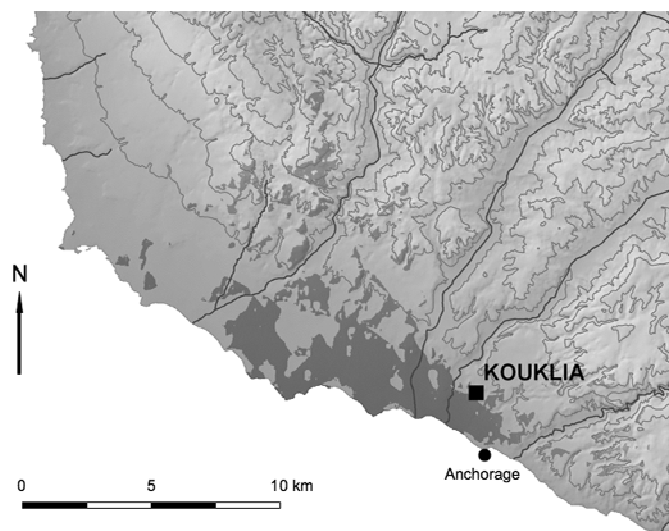


Figure 7.6: Viewshed of southwest Cyprus (shaded areas) from the Kouklia Manor House (Chiflik) based on a 25m digital elevation model. This building overlooks the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and commands a panoramic vista of the surrounding landscape and seascape. The anchorage at Kouklia-*Achni*, however, is not intervisible with the sanctuary complex at Kouklia (Zomenia Zomeni, Geological Survey Department, Cyprus).

up. Maria Iacovou has effectively argued that the port would have been positioned in an area where it would have been inter-visible with the Paphian Sanctuary (Iacovou 2008, 271). Indeed, it seems logical that a coastal settlement would locate the harbour in an area where it can oversee and administer to its operation. Despite the high vantage point and relatively short distance (2.5km) it is not possible to see the anchorage site at Kouklia-Achni from the sanctuary at Palaepaphos (*Fig. 7.6*). So, why was the anchorage site located there and what function did it serve?

Prevailing winds and currents in the eastern Mediterranean suggest that Bronze Age ships adopted an “anti-clockwise circulation” when under sail, and it is likely that long-distance voyages were divided into legs-cabotage or tramping (McGrail 2001, 112). Therefore, ships travelling around the basin from ports in Egypt and the Levant may well have sailed via the south coast of Cyprus to destinations in the west. Kouklia-Achni would have provided a convenient way-station for mariners needing to take onboard fresh provisions before crossing the open sea to southwest Anatolia and the Aegean. Yet the absence of proper mooring facilities and a harbour mole to provide much-needed protection from the prevailing westerly and north-westerly winds meant mariners may well have had to cut their anchor lines to escape severe conditions in a seemingly unsheltered location. Alternatively, large anchors could have been left *in situ* on the seabed for vessels to affix their mooring lines and weather the storm; a kind of “proto-harbour” or mooring haven (for a full account of the evolution of proto-harbours in the early Levant, see Frost 1995, 1–22). There is certainly no evidence for any kind of harbour construction or engineering in the archaeological record at Kouklia-Achni, but more research needs to be done to determine the nature of the coastline during the second millennium BC and whether or not there were bays and natural inlets to provide shelter. A thorough study on the coastal geomorphology of the region is paramount to understanding the changing nature of this coastline at any given period.

Discussion

Despite the unfavourable location of Kouklia-Achni in terms of prevailing winds and currents, Honor Frost noted that “seamanship and local knowledge compensate for navigational difficulties” (1995, 1). The conspicuous absence of harbour facilities therefore does not necessarily preclude Kouklia-Achni as an important maritime terminus in the Bronze Age. It is important to stress that there are no known harbour moles or breakwaters from Early or Middle Bronze Age coastal sites in Cyprus, or elsewhere in the Levant (Raban 1995, 145). Despite this, numerous coastal sites were being established throughout the region at this time, including Byblos and Ugarit. By the LBA in Cyprus, “primary coastal centres” at Enkomi, Hala Sultan

Tekke and Kition (see Knapp 1997; 2008) were constructing harbour facilities in response to the rising tide of seaborne trade. The physical settings of these maritime sites on the east and southeast coast of the island – better suited for direct trade with emporia on the Levantine coast – illustrate a number of key comparisons to Kouklia-*Achni* in the southwest:

1. The east coast site at Enkomi, located approximately 4km inland on the common estuary of the Pedieos and Yialias rivers, had an estuarine port with year-round protection from the prevailing southerly winds (Sawicky 2007, 19–20). Seacraft were able to access the port via a navigable channel leading inland from Salamis Bay. Yet despite the sheltered location, the high sediment load of the Pedieos-Yialias river system eventually silted up the channel at the end of the LBA. Indeed, Lindy Crewe attributes the abandonment of Enkomi in the 11th century BC to the silting up of this channel and the eventual relocation of the site to Salamis on the coast (Crewe 2007, 69; Murray *et al.* 1900, 1; Dalongville and Sanlaville 1980).
2. The site at Hala Sultan Tekke is situated on the western shore of the Larnaca Salt Lake on the southeast coast. Like Enkomi, the harbour facilities were located in the relative shelter of a coastal lagoon with a navigable outlet to the sea. The build-up of alluvium by the mid-LBA eventually rendered the harbour obsolete, and the site was destroyed and abandoned sometime around 1200 BC (Karageorghis 2002, 73).
3. Perhaps the most significant comparison is with Kition, a major harbour town on the southeast coast with a large complex of temples and metallurgy workshops. Its location on a long, exposed stretch of coastline is at odds with Strabo's description of a closed harbour (XIV.6.3) with navigable channels to the sea. A number of studies have attempted to reconstruct the palaeocoastline and find evidence for natural bays or an offshore ridge (*e.g.* Gifford 1978; Morhange *et al.* 2000; Nicolaou 1976). A recent synthesis of this research by Blake Sawicky surmised that Kition was exposed to prevailing southerly winds and was a "less-than-ideal location" for a harbour (2007, 32). The exposed nature of the site and close association with a large temple complex is similar to Kouklia-*Achni*, but its connectivity with production sites in the hinterland and international emporia in the adjacent Levant allowed it to thrive as a major maritime terminus. Kition is a good example of a large coastal settlement that contended with an unfavourable coastline and maintained its position

as a primary centre of production, administration, commercialism and ceremony throughout the LBA and into the Iron Age.

The evidence from the stone anchors at Kouklia-*Achni* presents us with a unique insight into the maritime connectivity of early southwest Cyprus. As problematic as stone anchors are to date and provenance, there are a number of examples found on the seabed that are consistent with shapes, sizes and types located in abundance elsewhere in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean. Several anchors are identical to types located in temple complexes at Byblos and Ugarit from the 14th and 13th centuries BC (McCaslin 1980, 44–47). Other examples are consistent with Cypriot anchors recorded in the 1960s and 1970s by Honor Frost and Dan McCaslin from Capes Kiti, Pyla and Greco, as well as Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke (Frost 1970a; 1970b; 1970c; 1973; 1982; 1985; McCaslin 1977; 1980). Perhaps most importantly the anchors span a time period from at least the LBA through the Early Iron Age, stopping before the presence of Classical stone stock and later Hellenistic and Roman lead stock anchors, which are a regular feature of underwater sites around the Mediterranean basin. Theoretically, the anchorage could have been in use throughout the LBA and Iron Age, and silted up sometime in the 4th century BC; the nearby Dhiarizos River pumping vast amounts of sediments into the sea just north of the anchorage, and the long-shore current running north to south pushing these sediments over the site. But the question remains: how did the anchors get there?

- Scenario 1: Accidental deposition

It is highly unlikely that the anchors at Kouklia-*Achni* represent actual shipping losses. Three seasons of underwater search and survey of the site have yielded very few fragmentary and intact ceramic remains, most notably a small number of medieval jugs. Scenario one is that they represent accidental deposition. If the anchors are indicative of vessels becoming snagged on the rocky seabed then what extent of time does the site represent? If we say that the anchorage was in use from the beginning of the LBA (c. 1650 BC) to the 4th century BC, 120 stone anchors represent nine or ten centuries worth of ancient mariners severing their hawser lines in order to cut themselves free, which is not a significantly high number of anchor losses (around 12 per century). What if the site represents a much smaller time period, say only a few decades or at most a century? This line of enquiry relies heavily on understanding the coastal geomorphology of the region, a task not yet tackled by this study. The promontory around which the anchors are situated, however, is most probably a recent build-up of riverine silt. Remote sensing offshore in 2006 tracked large amounts of silt that has spewed out from the previously mentioned Dhiarizos

River to the north of the site. Could even more anchors lie underneath the promontory? As it stands, the discovery of 120 stone anchors in one relatively small area is a major find and points to the fact that this site was at one time a busy maritime thoroughfare. But in terms of finding more stone anchors and other artefacts or architectural features relating to an ancient anchorage site, it may be just the “tip of the iceberg”.

- Scenario 2: Deliberate deposition

Another scenario could be the ritual or deliberate deposition of the anchors. Ships’ crews, grateful for safe passage from their point of origin, may have deliberately cut the hawser line to deposit an anchor – a tribute to the Goddess Aphrodite, her birthplace and the Sanctuary nearby. Unpublished votive figurines of the Goddess with uplifted arms, Astarte figurines and a royal dedicatory inscription by the Paphian King Nikokles to the Goddess were recently studied by Dr. Anja Ulbrich at the Paphos Museum (pers. comm. June 2009). These artefacts were located in the area near the modern fish farm and may indicate a possible sanctuary down by the shore dating to the Cypro-Archaic period. This particular stretch of coastal landscape may have had a deep-rooted sacred and religious significance for ancient mariners plying these waters, and the anchorage at Kouklia-*Achni* may well have been the point of disembarkation for pilgrims coming to the famous Sanctuary. One thing we do know is that stone anchors were ritually deposited at coastal sanctuaries in the Levant, famously at the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos and the Temple of Baal at Ugarit (e.g. Frost 1973; McCaslin 1980), as well as at the sacred quarter at Kition in close proximity to the harbour (Frost 1985; Karageorghis 2002). This may be why there are so many anchors concentrated in one place adjacent to the Sanctuary – the ritual deposition by superstitious seafarers.

Conclusion

Based on the sheer number of stone anchors at Kouklia-*Achni*, it is clear that Palaepaphos was an important maritime thoroughfare from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. Despite the physical disadvantages of locating an anchorage in an area that was seemingly buffeted by year-round westerly and north-westerly winds, its position on the southwest coast would have served as a convenient way-station for vessels tramping west. The religious importance of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite also brought in significant wealth and tribute to the region, and the large number of stone anchors present offshore perhaps bears testament to an influx of pilgrims and traders from overseas, which encouraged Palaepaphos to flourish during the centuries after the end of the LBA. Even so, before we are able to trace evidence of a much bigger port facility that served

Palaepaphos and the Paphian Kingdom in the Iron Age, I believe that the anchorage site at Kouklia-Achni indicates a level of maritime activity previously unseen in the underwater archaeological record of the southwest region of Cyprus. The anchorage almost certainly predates the much larger Iron Age port and judging by the stone anchors we can confidently conclude that many examples conform to types and styles found in datable Middle and Late Bronze Age contexts.

The coastline has changed a great deal in the last three millennia and much of the modern low-lying coastal zone has been created by the steady build up of silt from the nearby Dhiarizos River. Kouklia-Achni was likely a precursor to the later port, a kind of proto-harbour that served the region in the Bronze Age. It may have also been a “purpose-built” anchorage with *in situ* mooring stones that served the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, depositing pilgrims on their way up the sacred way to the famous cultic site. The high number of stone anchors found at this small shallow water site presents us with a unique assemblage of finds relating to early maritime activity in southwest Cyprus. Further study in this area will add an important chapter to the maritime history of the island, as well as the typology of stone anchors in the eastern Mediterranean.

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ETEOCYPRIOT: LINGUISTIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Philippa M. Steele

“Eteocypriot” is a topic that has been somewhat controversial, and especially so in the last fifteen or twenty years. Scholars have long been divided as to how to treat the Eteocypriot language and the population that must have spoken it. The uncertainties and vague definitions that have inevitably followed have led to assertions that not only the language but also any population speaking it did not exist (Given 1998, following scepticism in other authors such as Reyes 1994). This paper sets out to reconcile the state of knowledge: firstly, by demonstrating the existence of the Eteocypriot language; secondly, by clarifying how much we currently know about the extent and context of that language; and thirdly, by showing that the lack of firm archaeological evidence for an Eteocypriot-speaking population is not in itself problematic. To present an argument for the coherence of Eteocypriot as a language is not in itself innovative (*cf.* early works including Bork 1930; Friedrich 1932, etc.; most recently Petit 2007 and the brief but salutary treatment in Egetmeyer 2010b), but in the light of recent discussions, especially those anchored in a positive identification of the language as related to another known language (*e.g.* Petit 1997/1998), a reassessment that takes us “back to basics” will, I hope, allow the current state of knowledge to be approached in a more critical and open-minded way.

If we are to discuss Eteocypriot, we must begin with a definition; indeed, it was the absence of firm definitions that led to weaknesses in our understanding of Eteocypriot. “Eteocypriot” refers primarily to a specific ancient language, which cannot be understood, although it can be “read” in the sense that we have a reasonably good idea of its phonetic/phonological properties because the script in which it is written, the Cypriot Syllabary (or “Cypro-Greek” *cf.* Egetmeyer 2010a), is a deciphered script that was mainly used to write Greek on the island during the 1st millennium BC. Most attestations of this language have been found at the city of Amathous on the south coast of Cyprus, though a few were found elsewhere, and date to the period between the 8th and 4th centuries BC. However, very few inscriptions survive, and in my opinion fewer than 25 can be identified with certainty (Steele 2010, 116–120). The term “Eteocypriot” was coined in

the 1930s (Friedrich 1932) by analogy with the ancient term “Eteocretan” used for the indigenous population of ancient Crete, and so has been seen as having an interpretive bias, because it suggests that the speakers of Eteocypriot must somehow be an indigenous population of ancient Cyprus.

Perhaps the most significant critic of Eteocypriot has been Michael Given who, following a discussion of the use and abuse of the term “Eteocypriot” over the course of the 20th century and the state of archaeological and linguistic evidence, concluded that “the Eteocypriots never existed” (Given 1998, 4). His discussion of the political pressure influencing scholarly discussions in different periods was extremely elucidating and remains an important reminder that the cultural and political context of academic debate may affect its conclusions significantly. However, his dismissal of a population speaking Eteocypriot was unwarranted. Even though he admitted that “there is no doubt that there do exist a few examples of a non-Greek language with characteristic verbal patterns and inflections and perhaps proper names” (Given 1998, 21), he nevertheless went on to state that “ten short inscriptions do not make an ethnolinguistic group” (Given 1998, 22). It is obvious that his knowledge of the evidence for the Eteocypriot language was imperfect (there are certainly more than ten inscriptions, and it would be exceedingly overambitious to look for verbal patterns in any of them), which inevitably undermines what is otherwise a valuable discussion. However, it is perhaps more important to question what he seems to have been searching for: the concept of an “ethno-linguistic group” (for which, *cf.* also Petit 1999, 117). What this means, and whether it is attainable, will be considered later in this paper.

Following Given’s pronouncement that Eteocypriot did not exist, there was inevitably a backlash from scholars who attempted to prove that the language was real. The most prominent exponent was Thierry Petit, who sought to demonstrate that “there did exist, in Archaic and Classical times, on the territory of the Amathousian kingdom, a distinct population speaking a peculiar dialect” (Petit 1999, 118). However, in restyling the language as “Amathousian” (Petit 1999, 117), his discussion was potentially somewhat misleading because of the implication that it must have been confined to Amathous, a matter that cannot be resolved on the current basis of evidence. The substitution of one biased term for another is not helpful, and I would suggest that it is more important to examine and understand the implications of the biases, thereby neutralising their effect (*cf.* terms such as “Minoan” and “Mycenaean”), than to overhaul the terminology in the hope of finding a label that has none (“X” would be fairly neutral, but hardly seems fitting).

Probably the most significant obstacle to a general acceptance of Petit's work on Eteocypriot, despite his comprehensive discussions of potential linguistic features (*e.g.* Petit 1995, 1997/1998), was his conviction that it may be linked to Hurrian (see especially Petit 1997/1998), an agglutinating ancient Near Eastern language that has been proposed as a cognate to many problematic unknown languages of the Mediterranean (including one or more of the unknown languages underlying the 2nd millennium BC "Cypro-Minoan" inscriptions of Cyprus [*e.g.* Masson 1976; Faucounau 2007; 2008. Knapp and Marchant 1982 is also noteworthy in considering the potential archaeological evidence for Hurrians in Cyprus, but their conclusion is negative]) and therefore has considerable interpretive "baggage". Critics have pointed out that the linguistic features of Hurrian do not match the surviving evidence for Eteocypriot very well, with Egetmeyer suggesting that Petit's discussion of the Eteocypriot language was forced to fit a pre-conceived Hurrian model (Egetmeyer 2010b, 87). To show that a language is agglutinating, it would be necessary to demonstrate phenomena such as the appearance of sequences of multiple morphological elements, but within Eteocypriot, which is written in a syllabic script that obscures many phonological details, any possible evidence for agglutination is extremely limited and open to alternative explanation. However, Petit's tables that seek to demonstrate the presence of just such a phenomenon in Eteocypriot (Petit 1995, 55; 1997/1998, 252; 2007, 94) make an assumption that known Eteocypriot sequences can be divided up into segments carrying separate grammatical meaning. Based on the extremely limited evidence currently available, I would argue strongly that this assumption is unsubstantiated. Furthermore, any potential lexical/etymological links between Hurrian and Eteocypriot seem to me somewhat convoluted (I discuss this further at Steele 2010, 135, 152–153).

The primary argument against an identification of Eteocypriot as related to Hurrian, however, remains in the current state of knowledge that we simply do not have enough evidence for the Eteocypriot language to identify more than one or two of its linguistic features with any degree of certainty at all; to attempt to elucidate Eteocypriot linguistic features through a discussion of a proposed cognate language is backward, and inevitably circular, reasoning (*cf.* comments in Egetmeyer 2010b, 86–88). Similarly, it is unhelpful that Petit's "corpus amathousien", a list of Eteocypriot inscriptions on which his assessment is based (Petit 1997/1998, 261–262), does not tell us how the inscriptions that he includes as Eteocypriot texts were identified. Such an explanation would be a basic but vital adjunct to the identification of Eteocypriot linguistic features, because without it we are reminded of the long-running trend of labelling any Cypriot Syllabic inscription that has no satisfactory Greek interpretation as an Eteocypriot text (*cf.* the range of texts labelled Eteocypriot, tentatively or otherwise, in the work

of Olivier Masson, e.g. Masson 1983). Petit was certainly successful in showing that Given's complete dismissal of Eteocypriot was flawed, but his arguments regarding the identification of cognates to Eteocypriot are somewhat problematic.

My own work on the Eteocypriot language has disregarded any search for cognates (which in my opinion are currently impossible to identify) and has concentrated instead on a reappraisal of linguistic features from first principles and without any assumptions concerning its linguistic affiliation. For a full discussion, my doctoral thesis may be consulted (Steele 2010, 124–153), but here I concentrate on a preliminary idea of how a linguistic appraisal may be attempted, and what (or rather, how little) it demonstrates about the Eteocypriot language. As a starting point, it is fortunate that a small number of bilingual inscriptions are known in Eteocypriot and Greek, of which only one survives completely intact, incised on a slab of black marble that was found at Amathous and is dated to the late 4th century BC (Masson 1983, no. 196 and pl. XXIX; for a recent reassessment of the date of the inscription see Petit 2007). It has two parts, which are kept visibly separate: at the top, we see the Eteocypriot text written in the Cypriot Syllabary, reading from right to left; underneath we have the Koine Greek text written in the Greek alphabet and reading from left to right. We can be sure that the two parts written in different languages bear some relation to each other, because we can read the same Greek name in both: *Aristōn son of Aristo[wa]nax*. The complete text is as follows (with the name highlighted in bold):

Eteocypriot:

1. *a-na · ma-to-ri · u-mi-e-sa-i-mu-ku-la-i-la-sa-na · **a-ri-si-to-no-se · a-ra-to-wa-na-ka-so-ko-o-se***
2. *ke-ra-ke-re-tu-lo-se ·? ta-ka-na-?-?-so-ti · a-lo · ka-i-li-po-ti*

Greek:

1. *hē polis hē Amathousiōn **Aristōna***
2. ***Aristōnaktos** eupatridēn*

“The city of the Amathousians [honours] Aristōn son of Aristōnax the well-born.”

If anything can demonstrate the existence of the language that we call “Eteocypriot”, it is this inscription, where the unknown language can be seen in parallel to a known language (Greek).

Already in the above bilingual inscription, we can detect a number of linguistic features, which give us a starting point for investigating the Eteocypriot language. Firstly, we can see that,

while Greek uses a standard formula that puts the father's name in the genitive to express a patronymic relationship, Eteocypriot has a different strategy: the father's name has a sequence *-o-ko-o-* inserted between the main part of the name and a following (probably morphological) ending. This is perhaps the most famous observation that has been made by scholars treating the Eteocypriot material. Furthermore, the Greek name, *Aristōn son of Aristo[wa]nax*, has different endings in the Eteocypriot part of the text: while the Greek has an accusative of the son's name in *-ōna* and a genitive of the father's name in *-os*, Eteocypriot has both the son's and father's name ending in a syllabic sequence *-o-se* (which could represent *-os*, *-ōs*, *-ons*, *-ose*, etc.). Since we know that a name is a noun, we are justified in thinking in terms of noun endings here. We may also note that the Eteocypriot word *ke-ra-ke-re-tu-lo-se* has the same ending, and so, if we are correct to think in terms of morphological noun endings, it may be parallel to the word in the Greek part of the inscription that is in the same case as the name, *eupatridēn* ("well-born"). Very little more can be said concerning potential linguistic features in this inscription without straying into the realms of unsupported speculation.

If we then move on to some of the other, monolingual, inscriptions from ancient Amathous that are written in the Cypriot Syllabic script but have no satisfactory Greek interpretation, we may observe whether or not they display similar patterns to those attested in the bilingual inscription above. Fortunately for our interpretive process, they do. We may take as an example another 4th century stone inscription from Amathous (Masson 1983, no. 195):

1. *mī-ta-ṛa-wa-no* '?' *mā-lu-?-?-ni-ka-to-ro* ' ***a-ra-to-ke-ne-so-ko-o-?-na-?-?-?*** // *la-wa-ni* // *ku-kō-ra* // *mu-sa-?-?-ke*
2. *?-ma* // '?' *na-ki* // '?' *e-ro-ko-ro* '?' *kō-?-ṣa-o-na-sa-ko-ra-no-ti* // '?' *?-ya* // XX II *?-?-ra* // ***o-na-sa-ko-ra-ni*** // *pa-po-no* // ***a-sa-to-wa-na-ka-so-ko-?***
3. *ta-ṣa-ma* ' *?-kū-re-se-a-na-ta-kē* // ***pu-ru-wa-no-ti*** // *tu-?-so* // *a-li-o-ti* // *?-?-ro-so* // '?' *o-?-?-ta-?-no-ti* // *e-?-?-mo-ti-pī-sa-kō*
4. ***a-sa-ta-ra-to-no-ko-o-?*** '?' *ke-ra-ka-re-tu-lo-ti* // *o-e-lo-ti-mo-ti-tu-sa-so-ko-so-ti* // *?-?-?-ṣō-kō* // *ti-ma-ku* // *te-kō-?-ṣō*
5. *o-?-ko-ti* ' *a-no-ti* // *?-ka-no-ti* // ***o-na-i-ti-mo*** // *a-li-o-ti* // *ta-?-pī-?-i-na* // *ta-su* // ***pu-ru-wa-no***
6. *o-ta-ko* '?' *pū-lā-?-?-?-mo-ti-?-no-o* // *e-lo-ti-mo-no* '?' *o-a-ya-ko* // *i-no* // *tī-kā-no* // *a-ma-ti-ke-e*

Because we do not yet understand some of the fundamental features of the Eteocypriot language, such as its verbal system or most of its vocabulary, it is difficult to make sense of a long text such as this one. However, it is possible to identify a large number of Greek names, which are highlighted in bold above (Aristogenes, Onasagoras, Aristowanax, Purwa, Straton, Onasitimos; see Masson 1983, 205–206, for these identifications). Again we see the Eteocypriot patronymic formula (whose function we may be certain we understand, from the evidence of the bilingual inscription previously discussed) in *a-ra-to-ke-ne-so-ko-o-?-* (1.1) and *a-sa-ta-ra-to-no-ko-o-?* (1.4), and probably *a-sa-to-wa-na-ka-so-ko-?* (1.2), thus providing further confirmation of *-o-ko-o-* as a linguistic feature. There is also a recurrence of the Eteocypriot word *ke-ra-ke-re-tu-lo-se* (here *ke-ra-ka-re-tu-lo-ti*, with a different ending and slightly different vocalisation, which may suggest a consonant cluster in the middle of the word). The Greek names in this inscription again vary in their endings, which are obviously not of Greek origin, with some pairs showing that the same name can take different endings in different contexts (*o-na-sa-ko-ra-no-ti* / *o-na-sa-ko-ra-ni*; *pu-ru-wa-no-ti* / *pu-ru-wa-no*). By building up a list of these and other occurrences of Greek names in other inscriptions, we begin to gain a clearer picture of what seems to be some sort of nominal suffixing morphology, though again it is impossible to be certain of the exact significance of this phenomenon, taking into account the current limited evidence (at Steele 2010, 131–135, I have tentatively suggested a case system, but other explanations such as ergativity cannot be ruled out).

Because noun endings in particular, along with some other lexical features, can be traced in other inscriptions, we are then able to draw up a list of otherwise uninterpreted Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions that may reasonably be assumed to be examples of the Eteocypriot language. The resulting list of texts then allows a survey of features such as repeating lexical items and other patterns such as the phenomena noted above, which in turn become the building blocks for our knowledge – limited though it is – of the Eteocypriot language. We may hope that further texts come to light in the future, and so add to our small corpus and increase the data on which our understanding of the language is based. One day, it may be possible to prove beyond doubt that Eteocypriot is a particular type of language, agglutinating or otherwise, or that it is related to other known languages, but for now this is out of our reach. Although it is possible to begin to list potential linguistic features of the language through the above exercise (discussed further at Steele 2010, ch. 2), it is important to acknowledge for now just how limited our knowledge of Eteocypriot is. Nevertheless, based on observations such as those made above, the existence of the language is surely beyond doubt.

The above discussion is intentionally limited to a very basic introduction to identifying the language that we label “Eteocypriot”, but it is sufficient, I think, to demonstrate that it is possible to find real, repeating linguistic features among the non-Greek inscriptions of ancient Amathous, even though it is a difficult task to ascertain their precise nature. It is these real features that must be used as criteria for identifying other Eteocypriot texts. Because this gives us a much more secure basis for recognising the language, it has then been possible to trace identifiable Eteocypriot linguistic features in areas outside of Amathous (in particular, Paphos and Kourion, and one inscription from Egypt: see Steele 2010, 121–123), showing that the language was not necessarily confined to the population of Amathous. However, in spite of the strict methodological basis I have tried to employ, or rather because of it, the number of texts that may be identified with certainty or near certainty (allowing for example the possibility of chance similarities) as examples of Eteocypriot remains very small: my own study has identified 22 (Steele 2010, 118–120), discounting any inscriptions that did not obey linguistic criteria for inclusion (indeed, even less strict criteria could not result in a corpus of more than 50 extant texts). Nevertheless, I hope that this discussion has gone some way to demonstrating that when we speak of “Eteocypriot”, there is a real language underlying it, whatever other conclusions we may arrive at concerning the population that may have spoken it.

This brings us back to the Eteocypriot “ethnolinguistic group” for which Given was searching (1998, 22), and whose existence he rejected. What is an “ethnolinguistic group” and how may we identify it? If it simply means a population speaking a particular language, then surely by demonstrating the existence of the language we have demonstrated the existence of the group: almost all languages are or have been spoken by at least some group of people. However, to look for “ethnolinguistic” traits to characterise that group suggests that the language alone is not enough, and this is where the “ethno-” part of the word becomes problematic. One of the main areas of focus of Given’s refutation of the existence of the “Eteocypriots” was on the archaeological record of Amathous, where he could find no trace of a distinct group of people; that is to say that there was no group of people distinguishing itself in terms of material culture from the island’s other populations (who were known to speak at least two other languages, Greek and Phoenician). But should we really expect a separate language always to be distinguished strongly “on the ground”?

Cyprus is quite a small island, and in the mid-1st millennium BC we know that it was home to at least three different languages (Greek, Phoenician, Eteocypriot), which seem from the extant epigraphic record to have been concentrated largely in particular areas where the local administrations spoke the language in question (*e.g.* Greek in the south-west, Phoenician in the

south-east) but nevertheless clearly had considerable levels of contact with each other. Not only was the island home to a mixed population in this regard, but also, as a significant trading post that lay at the heart of several eastern Mediterranean merchant networks, it was open to influences from a wide range of civilizations (Greeks to the west, Assyrians and Persians as well as Phoenicians to the east, Egyptians to the south, etc.). The population of Cyprus in this period was “fortemont composite” (Dupont-Sommer 1974, 87), and the island itself may fairly be described as “cosmopolitan” (Karageorghis 1981, 57). In such a multicultural situation, it is hardly surprising that the archaeological record may not present a clear-cut picture of separate populations speaking different languages. Indeed, even for the Phoenicians of Cyprus, whose styles and artefacts are easier to trace because of the wealth of archaeological evidence that we have for Phoenicians, both in Cyprus and elsewhere, it does not seem that they were expressing themselves materially in significantly distinct ways from the island’s Greek speakers. Recent studies have emphasised mixed and specifically *Cypro*-Phoenician styles (e.g. Yon 2007, 119), and the fact that Phoenician speakers in Phoenician-dominant cities such as Kition generally seem to have been taking part in a cultural matrix common to other Cypriot cities (e.g. Yon 1997, 15; Iacovou 2006, 44). If even the well-documented Phoenicians cause some confusion in this regard, it is easy to see how it might be difficult to identify markers of an “Eteocypriot” population, whose origins are unknown.

Essentially, Given’s search for an Eteocypriot “ethnolinguistic” group is frustrated because the archaeological record of Amathous does not give any indication of the presence of separate populations that were intentionally portraying themselves as distinct through their day-to-day material culture. To imply that speakers of a different language necessarily must distinguish themselves in cultural practice is a fundamental misunderstanding of the concept of “ethnicity”, which is increasingly being understood by scholars as a complex process of negotiations, rather than a simple matter of equating a set of material culture with a single language or an isolated population speaking it. For example, Jones has shown that “the construction of ethnicity is grounded in the shared subliminal dispositions of social agents which shape, and are shaped by, objective commonalities of practice” (1997, 128). While language could be one of the features that a society chooses to present as an ethnic trait, or a criterion for self-identifying as a member of a particular group, there is no reason to suppose that it is always treated in this way, and there are many other features that might be preferred (for a recent theoretical treatment of ancient ethnicity, see MacSweeney 2009).

Amathous gives every appearance of having been a busy port during the 1st millennium BC, with wide-ranging contacts with the Aegean (Karageorghis 1988, 157) and Phoenicia (Reyes

1994, 138; Gjerstad 1979, 243), as well as other areas. Arguments for the presence of Greek speakers in Amathous have generally rested on some attestations of the Greek alphabet (from the 7th century BC onwards), rather than on characteristically “Greek” material culture (*e.g.* Aupert 2003; Petit 1991). We may also note that the known coins of Amathous contain Greek kings’ names, although one or more may be inflected as Eteocypriot (see Steele 2010, 160). Meanwhile, the archaeological record strongly suggests a Phoenician presence in the city that may have been long-standing (Hermay 1987; 2000; Caubet 2007), which is accompanied by the attestation of a few Phoenician inscriptions. The evidence for Eteocypriot speakers is quite similar to the evidence for Greek speakers in that it is founded on epigraphic rather than archaeological data.

If there is any distinction being drawn at Amathous during the 1st millennium BC in terms of cultural practice, it does not seem that it is a strong three-way distinction between Phoenician and Greek and Eteocypriot speakers. It may be the case that areas of specifically Phoenician activity can be traced in the city (*e.g.* in the Western Necropolis [Christou 1998]), but even so there is no clear evidence for any strong division between Phoenician speakers and non-Phoenician speakers. There may be a further clue to the complexity of this situation in the fact that so many Greek names are attested in Eteocypriot inscriptions, even the monolingual ones. The Greek names that we see in Eteocypriot preserve archaic features such as the sound [w] (as in *Aristowanax*, which was equated with *Aristōnax*, where the [w] had been lost from orthography as well as pronunciation, in the Greek part of the bilingual inscription discussed above), and generally seem to have been in use over a long period of time. Whether this process involved Greek speakers beginning to speak Eteocypriot but retaining their own names, or – perhaps more likely – Eteocypriot speakers adopting Greek names because they were seen as a mark of prestige, is difficult to ascertain (discussed in detail at Steele 2010, 142–146). It is very likely that there was contact between Greek and Eteocypriot speakers at an early stage, and over time this may have given rise to a situation where their cultural practices were not strongly distinguished. This might also have involved some residents of Amathous being bilingual in Eteocypriot and Greek, a situation that may have pervaded to the upper levels of society if it is correct that some coins bearing Greek kings’ names are in fact Eteocypriot language texts (see above).

There remain many mysteries surrounding “Eteocypriot”. We are still ignorant of many of the features of this language, and cannot in the current state of knowledge identify any other languages to which it might be related. We do not know how widely it was spoken, nor whether this changed over time. Likewise, we do not know for certain whether it was a language of high or low prestige at Amathous, and/or how widely its speakers were integrated into the general

population. To appreciate these limitations is not a negative, but a positive step. I hope that this paper has shown that even without a sophisticated understanding of linguistic features we can be certain that the Eteocypriot language did exist, whatever we choose to call it and however restricted our knowledge of it may be. Its speakers may or may not have identified themselves strongly through their language, but at some basic level at least those speakers must have existed.

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COPPER AND CULT IN BRONZE AGE CYPRUS

Matthew D. Spigelman

This paper investigates the connection between copper and cult in Late Bronze Age (LBA) Cyprus, arguing that a number of distinct functional and symbolic interactions existed between copper production and ritual practice during this time. Models of social organisation derived from ethnographic research are drawn upon (*e.g.* Dietler and Herbich 2001; Wallace 1956), to complement and contrast with models of state level society (*e.g.* D’Altroy and Earle 1985; Wright and Johnson 1975) employed in previous research. The paper begins with a review of previously proposed models for the Cypriot copper industry, followed by a chronological examination of the archaeological evidence utilised in their formulation. It concludes with a presentation of anthropological models for institutions, work feasts, ritual authority and social movements, using them to re-interpret the organisation of copper production in LBA Cyprus.

Models of Copper and Cult in Late Bronze Age Cyprus

Scholars began connecting copper and cult in LBA Cyprus after Claude Schaeffer’s 1963 discovery at Enkomi of the statuette known as the “Ingot God”, a male warrior standing atop an oxhide ingot, which he declared to be the protector of the copper mines (Schaeffer 1965). Hector Catling advanced this connection in his publication of the unprovenanced Bomford statuette, a female figure standing atop an oxhide ingot, which he argued was the consort of the Ingot God (Catling 1971). Catling dated these and other bronze finds (*e.g.* Bass 1967; Catling 1964) largely to the 12th century, Late Cypriot (LC) III period, associating them with an influx of Aegean settlers to Cyprus. It was these settlers, Catling argued, who reorganised and expanded the Cypriot copper industry, introducing the oxhide ingot form (Catling 1964, 302). They also brought production under the management of temple institutions and the protection of the gods (Catling 1971, 29–32). The identification of these gods has been the subject of much subsequent debate (Carless Hulin 1989; Kassianidou 2005; Mātthaus and Schumacher-Mātthaus 1986, 172); however, it falls beyond the scope of this paper.

James Muhly began in the early 1970s to argue for the equation of Alašiya with ancient Cyprus, thereby pushing back large scale Cypriot copper production into the Amarna Period, the

14th century BCE (Muhly 1972, 1973, 192–199), roughly contemporary with the LC IIB to LC IIC transition on Cyprus (Manning *et al.* 2001; Merrillees 1992). Muhly (1982) thus shifted attention away from the 12th century, where Catling had placed it, and towards the 14th and 13th centuries, notably during the LC IIC period with its impressive archaeological remains and widespread evidence of metalworking, some of which was located in religious contexts (Maddin *et al.* 1983; Muhly *et al.* 1980; Stech *et al.* 1985).

Bernard Knapp, in a pair of groundbreaking and influential 1986 publications (Knapp 1986a; 1986b; see also Knapp 1988; most recently Knapp 2008), developed a socio-political model for the appearance of complexity in Bronze Age Cyprus. At the core of this argument (Knapp 1986b) is a political-economic model of the gradual development of elite control over copper production and international trade. This model presents a continuous process, which began in the 18th century and extended through to the 11th. In this model, elites developed hierarchically organised, administratively specialised, decision making institutions (*sensu* Wright and Johnson 1975) in their attempts to fulfil foreign demand for Cypriot copper and increase their own power and prestige within society (Knapp 1986b, 39–42; see also Knapp 1988, 148–155; Muhly 1989).

Knapp (1986a) contends that elites on Cyprus gained economic and political control through the creation of an obfuscating religious ideology, *sensu* Marx. This ideology linked copper production with an elite administered cult, thereby naturalising coercive and exploitative relationships through the creation of a false consciousness among the population (Knapp 1986a, 62–69; see also Knapp 1988, 135–140). The evidence for this elite sponsored ideology is largely drawn from iconographic representations of oxhide ingots, some of which, Knapp argues, show an individual carrying an ingot towards a “sacred tree” (Knapp 1986a, 6–42). Knapp acknowledges that these representations were recovered primarily from 13th and 12th century contexts (see below). He argues, however, that the social changes they helped to bring about began in the 18th century, during the ill-defined periods known as the MC III and LC I (Knapp 1986a, 70–84). Knapp also reconstructs continuity between the 13th and 12th centuries, arguing against those who would see an invasion of Aegean immigrants to Cyprus at this time (*e.g.* Catling 1971; Dikaïos 1969–71).

Priscilla Keswani, in a pair of publications in the 1990s (Keswani 1993; 1996), proposed models of political integration, in which regional elites controlled copper production through networks of tribute and/or exchange. Elites in close proximity to copper deposits collected and re-distributed “staples”, while those farther away utilised objects of “wealth” in exchange for copper and other resources (*sensu* D’Altroy and Earle 1985). These more extensive systems utilised rural

sanctuaries, such as *Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas* (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983) and *Myrtou-Pigadhes* (Du Plat Taylor 1957), as transshipment points, for the collection of tribute, processing of copper and redistribution of wealth (see also Catling 1962; Keswani and Knapp 2003; Knapp 1993; 1997; 2008). Keswani (1993, 78) refers to these systems as organised by “temple institutions” with “dependents and functionaries” (see also Keswani 1996, 235; Mātthaus and Schumacher-Mātthaus 1986, 172).

Chronological Considerations

Knapp (1986a, 6–42) identifies representations of oxhide ingots on five categories of objects: decorated ceramic kraters, bronze statuettes, bronze stands, miniature oxhide ingots and engraved cylinder seals (see also Mātthaus and Schumacher-Mātthaus 1986, 169–172; Papasavvas 2009b).

Decorated Ceramic Kraters

The decorated ceramic kraters are the chronologically earliest line of evidence. Three examples exist of Mycenaean kraters in the LH IIIA:2 style with supposed representations of oxhide ingots upon them. The kraters themselves were manufactured in Greece during the 14th century (Manning *et al.* 2009; Wiener 2003). Two of the kraters were found at Enkomi, one in Swedish Tomb 17 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 541–545, pl.120) and the other in British Museum Tomb 45 (Walters 1912, 66–67, figs. 112a, b). The third krater was found at Pyla-Verghi, in Tomb 1 (Dikaios 1969–71, 915–916, pl. 230.1). Knapp (1986a, 35–37), following Dikaios (1969–71, 918–919), identifies the figures on these kraters as ingot bearers. This identification has been challenged by a number of scholars, who note that the depiction appears to be of an open frame, rather than a solid object, either a snare or bow for hunting (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 15, 19–20, 30) or a camp stool (Akerstrom 1987, 100–102; Rystedt 1987).

Cylinder Seals

Knapp (1986a, 37–42) presents a corpus of common style cylinder seals with depictions of oxhide ingots as further evidence of an elite sponsored religious ideology (see also Graziadio 2003; Webb 1999, 276–279). Many of these seals are either unprovenanced or were excavated in an unscientific manner. Those from secure contexts (*Fig. 9.1*), however, all date to the LC II, 15th century, or later, as noted by Knapp (1986a, 37–40). The seal from Enkomi Swedish Tomb 2 (object number 68) was originally dated to the LC I, as the burial in which it was found lacked Mycenaean ceramics (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 475). In the final publication of the Swedish Cyprus

Context	Date	Reference & Illustration
Enkomi, Swedish Tomb 2	LC IIA (Åström and Åström 1972, 648)	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934, 474 no. 68, pl. LXXVI:2
Enkomi, British Tomb 67, BM 97.4–1.361	LC IIA-IIB, (LC IB?-IIC?), (Keswani 2004, 232, Table 5:9b)	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900, 37 no. 361, pl. IV
Hala Sultan Tekke- <i>Vyzakia</i> , Tomb 1.41	LC IIB-IIC, (Åström <i>et al.</i> 1976, 89)	Porada 1976, 101–102, figs. 77, 80
Dromolaxia- <i>Trypes</i> Tomb 1.35	LC I-LC IIC	Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 43, 52 no. 35, fig. 5, pl. III:19
Enkomi, Level IIB, Inv. 1624	LC IIC (Dikaios 1969–71, 451–456, 484–487)	Porada 1971, 797 no. 13; Dikaios 1969–71, pls. 179:13, 181:13, 186:13
Akaki- <i>Trounalli</i>	LC II	Karageorghis 1970, 205–206
Nicosia- <i>Lymbouris</i> , CS 2591:2	LC II	Karageorghis 1980, 766, 768, fig. 20
Enkomi, British Tomb 74, BM 97.4–1690	LC III (Gjerstad 1926, 284–285)	Murray <i>et al.</i> 1900, 38 no. 690, pl. IV
Enkomi, French Excavations 1960, Quartiere 5E, Point Top 366, Depth 1.45 m, CS 13.122	LC IIIA	Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 58, Enkomi-Alasia 13.122; Courtois and Webb 1987, 55–57
Kition, Area II, Room 16, between Floors I and II	LC IIIB (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 137–138, 158–159)	Porada 1985, 252–253 no. 851, fig. A:4
Ayia Irini, No. 2752, Period 4	CA I-II	Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935, 773 no. 2752, pl. CCXLIII:21
Thebes (Boeotia), No. 206	13th century (c. LC IIC)	Porada 1981, 19–21, no. 5
Tell Abu Hawam, No. 415, Stratum V, Rockefeller Museum 34.186	13th century (c. LC IIC) (Balensi 1985, 68)	Frankfort 1939, XLI, 303, pl. XLVI:r; Hamilton 1935, 64, no. 415, pl. XXVI

Figure 9.1: Cylinder seals with depictions of oxhide ingots found in secure archaeological contexts.

Expedition, however, this burial was re-dated to the LC IIA, based on the presence of three White Slip II vessels (Åström 1972, 648).

Bronze Stands

Knapp's identification of ingot bearers approaching sacred trees finds its most visually evocative example on the four-sided bronze stand said to be from Kourion, located in the British Museum (Inv. No. 1920/12–20/1) (Catling 1971, 31, fig. 12). Ingot bearers can also be found on unprovenanced fragments of stands in the Bible Lands Museum (Achilles 1981) and Royal Ontario Museum (Karageorghis and Papasavvas 2001). All three of these figural stands are, unfortunately, without secure archaeological context. However, fragments of bronze tripod and four-sided stands have been recovered in deposits dating to the late 13th century, end of the LC IIC, and later, suggesting that their production began at that time (Catling 1984). This dating is corroborated by their iconographic details, which are similar to those on seals and wooden rollers

of this date (Achilles 1981; Frankel and Webb 1994, 81–86; Karageorghis and Papasavvas 2001, 345; Papasavvas 2009b; Porada 1973, 264–268; 1981, 16–19). A mould for creating the wax figures used in casting the stands was recovered from a 12th century, LC III, context at Hala Sultan Tekke (Karageorghis 1989), suggesting that their production continued into the 12th century (Papasavvas 2009b, 81).

Statuettes

As noted above, there are two known examples of bronze statuettes standing atop oxhide ingot bases, the so called “Ingot God” (Schaeffer 1965) and the Bomford figurine (Catling 1971). The “Ingot God” is a male statuette, holding a spear in one hand and a shield in the other. It was discovered by Claude Schaeffer at Enkomi in a building that he termed the “Sanctuary of the Ingot God”, located in Quarter 5E. This building was constructed during the final phase of habitation at the site, around 1200 BCE (Courtois 1971), and remained in use after the rest of the site had been abandoned (Iacovou 1989, 55). The statuette, along with a vast array of cultic paraphernalia, notably large numbers of bucrania, was purposefully buried around 1100 BCE by the laying of a new floor level (Webb 1999, 102–113; 2001).

Muhly (1980, 159–160) suggests that the Ingot God statuette was produced in the 13th century, during the LC IIC period, only to be deposited at a later date. Knapp (1986a, 87, 101–111) similarly argues that the statue and other metal depictions of ingots had “long been revered in Cypriote society”. Detailed inspection of the statuette by Papasavvas (2009a; 2011), however, shows it to have had a complex production history (previously noted by Zwicker, see Courtois 1982, 175), created first as a striding figure of the Near Eastern type (*e.g.* Negbi 1976, 29–41), and only later, using the casting on technique, was given its present standing posture and miniature oxhide ingot base. A 12th century, LC III, date for the addition of the miniature oxhide ingot base is therefore suggested, and is corroborated by the dating of all other miniature oxhide ingots (see below).

The Bomford figurine (Catling 1971) is a female statuette standing atop a miniature oxhide ingot base. Though it lacks provenance, Catling dates it to the LC III through stylistic comparisons with the females depicted on the bronze stand from the British Museum Tomb 97 at Enkomi (Gjerstad 1926, 284–285; Murray *et al.* 1900, 10, fig. 18) and the stylistic features of a class of female terracotta figurines, dated to the end of the LC IIC and the LC IIIA (Åström and Åström 1972, 512–513; Webb 1999, 209–211). To this corpus of comparanda can now be added a bronze statuette from Tomb 104 at Palaepaphos-*Teratsoudhia*, which is nearly identical to the Bomford figurine save for its missing base (Karageorghis 1990, 29, pls. XXI, LII). The

Provenience	Identification Number	Context	Date	Reference
Enkomi	Dikaïos No.774	Level: IIC	LC IIIB 12th century	Dikaïos 1969–71, 301, 764, pls. 147:35, 148:4, 176:42
Enkomi	Dikaïos No. 885	Level: Middle IIIB	LC IIIA-B 12th century	Dikaïos 1969–71, 294, 729, pl. 138:2
Enkomi	Dikaïos No. 1995	Level: IIB-III A	LC IIC-III A Late 13th-early 12th century	Dikaïos 1969–71, 294, 691, pls.138:1, 148:5, 171:14
Enkomi	French Excavations. No. 53.2	Chypriote Fer I	LC IIIA-B 12th-11th century	Masson 1971, 451–454, fig. 3
Enkomi	French Excavations. No. 53.3	Chypriote Fer I	LC IIIA-B 12th-11th century	Masson 1971, 454, fig. 4
Mathiati Hoard	Harvey Mudd College (?)	Hoard from Mathiati mine	12th century (?)	Catling 1964, 269, pl. 52.b:37
Mathiati Hoard	1936/VII–17/9	Hoard from Mathiati mine	12th century (?)	Kassianidou 2009; Catling 1964, 268, pl. 49:g
Alassa		Room II	LC IIIA (Webb 1999, 123–125; Manning <i>et al.</i> 2001)	Hadjisavvas 1986, 66, pl. XVIII:6

Figure 9.2: Miniature oxhide ingots found in secure archaeological contexts

Teratsoudhia figurine is dated by its associated tomb contents to the “very beginning of the LC IIIA... or the transitional LC IIC/III A” (Karageorghis 1990, 60).

Miniature Oxhide Ingots

The final class of artefacts to be considered are the miniature oxhide ingots (*Fig. 9.2*), many of which are inscribed in Cypro-Minoan (Masson 1971). Knapp (1986a, 26–27) provides a corpus of fifteen miniature ingots or miniature ingot fragments, although only six are from secure archaeological contexts on Cyprus. An additional two miniature ingots with secure provenance have since been identified, one from the Mathiati hoard (Kassianidou 2009) and another from the excavations at Alassa-*Pano Mandilaris* (Hadjisavvas 1986). All eight of these contextualised examples are dated to the 12th century, the LC IIIA-B, save for one recovered in a mixed LC IIC/III A context at Enkomi.

Knapp (1986a, 26–27) includes in his corpus, with reservations, the oxhide ingot fragment discovered by Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1938) because it is listed as miniature by Bass (1967). Knapp (1986a, 26) notes, however, that the scale bar in the photo (Albright 1938, pl. 41) seems to refer only to the smaller objects above and not to the oxhide ingot (#13) and chisels

(#14 and 15) below. Albright (1938, 53–54) describes the ingot and chisels as full sized, providing full sized objects as comparanda, thereby suggesting that the oxhide ingot fragment from Tell Beit Mirsim is full sized and not miniature. Knapp also includes the four miniature oxhide ingots found by Sir Flinders Petrie at Thebes in Egypt. These are described by Petrie as made of “sheet copper” (Bass 1967, 172–174) which, along with the inscription of the cartouche of Siptah on one, suggests that they were produced in Egypt and are only coincidentally related to the Cypriot examples (Papasavvas 2009b, 101).

Rural Sanctuaries

Keswani (1993; 1996) proposed that coastal sites located at a distance from the copper mines, such as Enkomi, used rural sanctuaries, such as Athienou (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983) and Myrtou-Pigadhes (Du Plat Taylor 1957), as transshipment points for copper production, tribute collection and redistribution. The excavations at Athienou recovered evidence of copper production and/or refining (Maddin *et al.* 1983), albeit using a rather inefficient and labour intensive method (Kassianidou 2005, 137–138). The site also recovered thousands of miniature vessels (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983, 53–110), the faunal remains of juvenile sheep and goats (Reese 2005), and a well-built structure containing large storage pithoi and a plastered courtyard (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983, 111–117). Keswani interpreted these data to suggest that copper production, cultic rituals and agricultural storage were bound together in a web of exchange and tribute relationships (Keswani 1993, 78–79). Jennifer Webb (1999, 21–29) has noted, however, that the material from Athienou is separated into distinct strata. The miniature vessels, roasting conglomerate and juvenile faunal remains are associated with Stratum III, dated to the 16th–13th centuries, the LC IB–IIC. The pithoi and more impressive courtyard building are associated with Stratum II, dated to 12th century, principally the LC IIIA. Based on these stratigraphic relationships, it is not possible to reconstruct the simultaneous practice at the site of miniature vessel use, copper production and agricultural storage.

Chronological Conclusions

This review of chronological evidence has demonstrated that each of the categories of objects discussed have a distinct chronological range, which do not entirely overlap. Iconographic representations of oxhide ingots on cylinder seals do not appear before the 15th century, the LC IIA period, and the majority are found in contexts dating to the 13th century, LC IIC, or later. The production of bronze stands, several of which have images of ingot bearers, is not evidenced before the late 13th century, the end of the LC IIC, and appears to continue into the 12th century,

the LC IIIA. Miniature oxhide ingots, both as bases for statuettes and objects themselves, are not found before the beginning of the 12th century, the LC IIIA. Lastly, the evidence for cult, copper production and agricultural storage at Athienou is not contemporaneous; use of the site shifted in the transition from the 13th to 12th centuries, the LC IIC to IIIA.

Models of Society

In light of these chronological disparities, new models for the connection between copper and cult in LBA Cyprus are introduced, drawing on ethnographic research in small scale and middle range societies.

Informal and Formal Institutions

Institutions provide the “rules of the game” (North 1990, 3), the set of choices and constraints available to people and groups as they attempt to negotiate economic gain, social position and the project of personhood (Ortner 1984). Institutions do not always emerge with optimal efficiency, in fact they rarely do; rather, they develop and persist within societies because they regularise human interactions, thereby decreasing uncertainty and lowering transaction costs (North 1990). Individuals and groups employ strategies in their attempts to both succeed within established institutions and, simultaneously, to alter these institutions to their perceived advantage (*e.g.* Leach 1962, 133; see also Barrett 2000; Giddens 1979).

The economist Douglass North (1990) draws the useful heuristic distinction between informal and formal institutions. Informal institutions are based on socially agreed upon norms of behaviour and shared responsibility for enforcement. Formal institutions, in contrast, are based on codified rules and constraints, either written or oral, which include officials responsible for enforcement. Hastorf (1990, 149) makes the insightful distinction between “*power to organize*” and “*power over the organization*” (emphasis in original), which can be applied to the difference between positions of power in informal and formal institutions.

The Work Feast

The model of the “work feast” has been developed by Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich (2001), stemming from their ethnographic research on iron production in East Africa. The work feast is typically an informal institution, which allows individuals to recruit labour on a temporary basis, providing a celebratory meal of food and drink in return. There is no expectation that the participants will share in the products of their labour, as the event is understood more as a social occasion than as work per se. The “power to organize” a work feast is available to anyone in the

community able to raise the necessary resources, notably large quantities of food and alcohol. In ethnographic contexts, these are typically the individuals who have excelled in the negotiation of marriage relations, by virtue of which they possess the necessary renown, resources and labour to sponsor a work feast (Dietler and Herbich 2001, 249–256). When the ability to produce durable forms of wealth, such as metal, using work feasts is based on marriage relations, it is difficult to transmit and maintain this success across generations. The work feast, therefore, allows individuals within the community to organise large labour projects and accumulate significant quantities of wealth, but is not suited to the establishment of a distinct elite class within society (Dietler and Herbich 2001, 257–258).

Dietler and Herbich (2001, 241–246; see also Moore 1975) position the “work feast” as one pole in a continuum of labor mobilisation strategies they term “collective work events”. At the other end is the “work exchange”, in which the host provides only the basic food and drink, but accrues an obligation to provide reciprocal labour at a later date (*e.g.* Long 2003). This range of practices allows for what are initially mutually beneficial relationships (*i.e.* work exchanges) to gradually be transformed into exploitative ones (*i.e.* work feasts) from which the participants receive little long-term material benefit.

Ritual and Technical Specialists

Metal production in traditional societies, typically iron smelting, has been ethnographically observed to require specialised technical and ritual knowledge, both of which are considered integral to the success of the project (*e.g.* Childs 1998, 113–115; Schmidt 1997). The organiser of a production event, however, need not command this knowledge, as specialists can be retained on a temporary basis for each of these tasks, receiving payment and/or a share of the finished product in return. Ames (1995), working with ethnographic and archaeological data from American Northwest Coast societies, shows that specialists were “hired” by elites for individual projects, rather than being permanently “attached” to those elites (*cf.* Brumfiel and Earle 1987). In this arrangement, specialists, either technological or ritual, may hold a place of distinction within the community, due to their access to restricted knowledge. These specialists, however, have no “power over” others, save for novice apprentices (Childs 1998, 112–113). Evidence for specialised technical and/or ritual knowledge in the archaeological record need not, therefore, be interpreted as indicating the emergence of an elite priestly class and temple institutions.

Revitalization Movements

Social movements are characterised by their sudden appearance and the attempts of their participants to enact rapid change in society (Nicholas 1973). The “revitalization movement” model was developed by Anthony Wallace (1956) based on ethnographic accounts of indigenous groups who, after traumatic contact with western colonial powers, sought to “revitalize” their society, returning it to an earlier, idealised state of existence. Revitalization movements are based on the appeal of a charismatic leader (*sensu* Weber [1922] 1978, 241–245) who provides their followers with a means of subverting failing institutions, legitimating these efforts through promises of a return to a lost past and/or a messianic future (Nicholas 1973). Famous examples of revitalization movements include the Ghost Dance in North America (LaBarre 1972; Mooney [1896] 1965), the Cargo Cults of the South Pacific (Lindstrom 1993) and the beginnings of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam in Asia (Wallace 1956, 264).

Movements differ from institutions, as defined above, because of their rapid pace of change and short-term period of existence; movements also lack regularised codes of conduct and bureaucratic positions of authority. Movements may develop into institutions (*e.g.* Buddhism, Christianity and Islam); however, this transition is difficult to achieve (Weber [1922] 1978, 246–254). Archaeology, with its diachronic perspective, is well suited to the investigation of institutions, given their long-term development and slow pace of change (*e.g.* Childe 1934; Renfrew 1972). The archaeological record, however, has only rarely been used to investigate social movements (*cf.* Bradley 1996; Fry 1985; Liebmann 2008; Preucel 2000; Webster 1999); with instances of rapid change in social practices and material culture more commonly interpreted as evidence for invasion or migration (*e.g.* Catling 1971; Dikaïos 1969–71).

New Models for Copper and Cult in Late Bronze Age Cyprus

The frameworks and models introduced above are used here to reinterpret the evidence from LBA Cyprus.

Informal Institutions for Copper Production

The work feast model provides a compelling explanation for the material recovered from Stratum III at Athienou (miniature vessels, juvenile sheep and goat bones, and ore extraction/refining debris) (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983, 14–20, 25–110; Maddin *et al.* 1983; Reese 2005) and the parallel finds from Kalopsidha-Koufos, Trench 9 (Åström 1966, 48–115). These remains suggest that work feasts, rather than tribute or exchange relationships, motivated the participation of labourers in the transport of copper ore or roasting conglomerate from the distant Troodos or

Trouli mines to these sites. The miniature vessels indicate that a small allotment of a precious liquid was distributed to the participants, perhaps a psychotropic substance of some sort (e.g. Merrillees 1962). The complex process of metal production necessitates that technical specialists were recruited for these events, and ritual specialists were most likely employed as well, as suggested by the recovery of a decorated ivory rhyton with matching ivory plug in Athienou stratum III (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983, 123–125). The remains from Athienou and Kalopsidha show that copper production organised through informal institutions, such as work feasts, began as early as the 17th century, LC IA, and extended through the urbanised 13th century, LC IIC.

The work feast model also fits comfortably with the results of recent excavations at the primary copper smelting site of Politico-*Phorades*, dated to the 17th and 16th centuries, LC I (Knapp 2003; Knapp *et al.* 1998; Knapp *et al.* 1999; 2002). *Phorades* preserves the remains of a primary smelting site, located on a stream bank, some 800m from the ore deposit. Excavations revealed a sequence of anthropogenic terraces, covered in debris from the smelting process: slag, furnace fragments, and tuyeres. No traces of permanent structures were found, and the debris on the terraces was interspersed with the shells of land snails, leading the excavators to reconstruct seasonal activity at the site. They calculate, based on the 3.5 tons of slag recovered from the site, that the total output, after further refining, would have been about 300 kg of copper (Knapp *et al.* 2002). Thus individual production events would have been quite small, suitable to meet local demand (Knapp 2003, 563–564). This scale of production also corresponds with the relatively small quantities (<150 kg) of Cypriot copper recorded as having been traded abroad at this time (Sasson 1996).

Knapp (2003) discusses the temporary nature of the community of workers at production sites such as *Phorades*, but puts forth no model for the means by which their labour was motivated and organised. The work feast provides a social mechanism consistent with the demands for temporary labour associated with small-scale mining and primary smelting. The practices of feasting at *Phorades* is suggested by the near exclusive recovery of fine ware ceramics (Knapp 2003, 561; Knapp *et al.* 1999, 134–135), which, in conjunction with exotic and/or copious amounts of food and drink, would have provided the labourers with access to an event outside the norms of their daily lives. The complex smelting activities at *Phorades* would have required the services of technical specialists. The involvement of a ritual specialist is suggested by the presence of a large conical diabase boulder, a non-local stone, with a small deposit of bone at its base (Knapp *et al.* 1998, 257–258; 1999, 134).

Formal Institutions for Copper Production

The small-scale and/or inefficient copper production evidenced at Athienou, Kalopsidha and *Phorades* is difficult to reconcile with the large-scale export of Cypriot copper evidenced in the 14th, 13th and early 12th centuries, LC II-III A. Literary sources (Knapp 1985; Moran 1996) and shipwrecks (Bass 1967; Pulak 1998) both demonstrate that single copper shipments could be 10 tons or larger, and that hundreds of tons of Cypriot copper were exported from the island during this portion of the LBA. The sheer magnitude of this trade would seem to necessitate the development of formal institutions for the management of copper production, overland transport and seaborne shipping (Keswani 1993; 1996; Knapp 1986b, 44–46; 1988, 151–153).

The copper mining site of Apliki-*Karamallos* (Du Plat Taylor 1952; Kling and Muhly 2007) preserves the remains of permanent structures and facilities for long term habitation consistent with the development of formal institutions for copper production. Apliki is located on the northern slopes of the Troodos Massif, adjoining the Apliki ore body and *c.* 5km from the Mavrovouni and Skouriotissa ore bodies. The excavated areas of the site were constructed at the end of 14th century, though other areas may have been inhabited earlier. Parts of the site were destroyed by fire, either around 1200 BCE or in the mid 12th century (Manning 2007). The ceramic evidence agrees with an abandonment during the LC IIC to IIIA transition in the early to mid 12th century (Kling 2007, 168).

Excavations at Apliki revealed portions of four house structures, of which House A was the best preserved and most extensively explored (Du Plat Taylor 1952, 133–144). House A contained a rich assemblage of imported and Cypriot objects, metallurgical remains, and a storage room with up to 15 large pithoi (*e.g.* Keswani 1989). The other three houses, House I, II and III (du Plat Taylor 1952, 144–149), were not extensively explored, but their remains are notably devoid of imported items or storage facilities. Keswani (1993; 1996) and Knapp (1993; 1997; see also Keswani and Knapp 2003), following Helbaek (1962), contend that the location of Apliki on the Troodos slopes would have made it dependent on farming villages at lower elevations for the subsistence needs of its inhabitants. As argued by Keswani (1993, 77), the inhabitants of House A were part of a formal institutional organisation, with “power over the organization” of copper production (*sensu* Hastorf 1990) predicated on their control, through tribute or exchange relationships, of the import and distribution of prestige goods and subsistence commodities to the settlement.

The 13th century, LC IIC, sees the urbanisation of Cyprus (Negbi 1986), the construction of impressive buildings (Fisher 2007) and wealthy burial assemblages (Keswani 2004) at a number of coastal sites. These data are convincingly interpreted to suggest that a distinct elite class arose

in many regions of the island at this time (Keswani 1993). It remains unclear, however, the extent to which various regional centres, and their resident elites, particularly those on the south coast (e.g. Goren *et al.* 2003; Manning 1998; South 1989), were integrated into the formal institutional structures that produced copper for shipment abroad in oxhide ingot form. The isotopic chemistry of oxhide ingots from 13th century and later contexts is inconsistent with the ore deposits associated with the southern ore bodies (Gale 2001; Stos-Gale and Gale 2009). The 13th and 12th centuries, LC IIC, therefore, witnessed both the development of formal institutions for large-scale copper production and the continued use of informal institutions for the production of smaller quantities.

A Revitalization Movement – Post 1200 BCE Social Change

The years around 1200 BCE were by all accounts a chaotic time in the eastern Mediterranean (see papers in Gitin *et al.* 1998). Demand for Cypriot copper decreased, as state level societies throughout the region broke down and communities began exploiting local iron resources. Within Cyprus many coastal settlements were abandoned, and those that remained had fortification walls erected around them (see papers in Karageorghis and Muhly 1984). It is unclear to what extent oxhide ingot production continued into the LC IIIA (see the discussion of Apliki above). This 12th century, LC IIIA, setting was a fertile environment for the rise of a revitalization movement, one which promised a return to a lost past, in which oxhide ingots were produced for trade abroad, and foreign goods flowed back to Cyprus in return.

The miniature oxhide ingots, a novel class of objects that first appear in the LC IIIA (see above), are interpreted here as the material remains of a revitalization movement that arose at this time. Liebmann (2008, 361–362) has stressed the materiality (*sensu* Miller 2005) of revitalization movements, how novel and distinctive objects are created that reference a lost past, but are in actuality creations of the present (Wallace 1956, 276). He argues that these objects are a key component of how revitalization movements are organised, legitimated and practiced.

Miniature oxhide ingots are, as Webb (1999, 300) notes, found in non-sanctuary contexts, and therefore not directly associated with formal religious institutions. The majority of the miniature oxhide ingots have been discovered at Enkomi (see *Fig. 9.2*) and these examples are all complete. Miniature ingots found elsewhere, at Mathiati and Alassa, however, are all broken, often deliberately at their “waist”. This practice of dividing and separating parts of a whole object is interpreted by Chapman (2000; Chapman *et al.* 2007) as “fragmentation and enchainment”, the linking together of people and communities through shared possession of a purposefully broken object. The distribution of miniature oxhide ingots in LC IIIA Cyprus can be interpreted as the

practice of a revitalization movement centred at Enkomi and spreading outwards from there. While all miniature oxhide ingots have been found in non-temple contexts, the Ingot God, an older statuette cast on to a miniature oxhide ingot base, was found in a clearly ritual setting at Enkomi (see above). This short-lived sanctuary (Webb 2001) can be interpreted as a failed attempt to transform a revitalization movement into a formal institution.

Conclusions

This paper introduces two models for the mobilisation and organisation of labour, technical and ritual expertise, in the production of copper in LBA Cyprus. Further, it suggests that the symbolic link between oxhide ingots and cult developed only at the very end of the period. The first of these models is the work feast, an informal institution, which was utilised throughout the LBA. It allowed for the production of small amounts of copper as needed, based on the ability of powerful individuals to recruit the necessary labour and expertise. These events contained a ritual component, performed by ritual specialists contracted for the task. Bureaucratically controlled production of copper by a formal institution did not develop until the LC II period, reaching a peak in the LC IIC. This official production, in oxhide ingot form and primarily for international exchange, coincided with the continued use of work feasts throughout the island to produce smaller quantities of copper. The production and use of miniature oxhide ingots in cultic practice developed only in the LC IIIA period. These artefacts were the material components of a revitalization movement, which attempted to overthrow a failing bureaucratic authority with promises of a return to an earlier, more prosperous, era.

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Postscript

In a recently published article Vassos Karageorghis (2011) also reinterprets the Athienou Stratum III material as evidence for feasting. He too recognises that while the events that took place at the site

included a ritual component, they are more productively interpreted as social engagements. We differ, however, in the models of feasting upon which we draw. Karageorghis applies a model in which powerful individuals use feasting to attract followers and cement tribute relationships. This article, in contrast, utilises the work feast model in which feasting serves to recruit short term labour but not to generate long term indebtedness.

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OF “GODDESSES” AND “WARRIORS”.
GENDER ASPECTS OF THE CYPRIOT “GODDESS WITH
UPRAISED ARMS”

Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska

Many Cypriot figurines of both the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and Early Iron Age lack information about their provenance or archaeological context. These examples form part of a substantial body of antiquities illegally excavated, robbed, and traded. As a result, scholars generally tend to approach figurines with a traditional, art-historical methodology, focusing on manufacturing processes and creating typologies. This has proved to be a useful instrument which provides possibilities to acquire data from the objects themselves. However, when this methodology moves beyond its conventional fields of research and interpretation such as style, aesthetics or technology, it cannot be considered to be free from assumptions concerning, for example, social systems, including gender constructions. This suggests that a change of approach is needed. Methodology suited both to the type of object and data, as well as to our specific research questions, should provide us with more reliable answers.

In this paper I review some of the Early Iron Age Cypriot figurines. Figurines were produced and used as representations of gods, worshippers or ancestors, but also as objects communicating certain ideas on social identities (Mina 2008, 215). The beginning of the 1st millennium BC is one of the most interesting periods in the archaeology of the island. Its character was established at the end of the Bronze Age (Late Cypriot [LC] IIIB period) marked by changes in settlement patterns and by the growing presence of foreign influences incorporated by the local culture (Iacovou 1989, 54–57). There were also visible changes in cult practice indicated by the appearance of new figurine types, known from the sanctuaries rather than the mortuary context, as was the case in previous periods (Karageorghis 1977, 7). The subsequent Cypro-Geometric period is one of continuity and further development of the above elements (Iacovou 2008). Traditionally, Early Iron Age Cypriot figurines are classified primarily by sex, and their social role and meaning is assumed according to their masculine/feminine category, such as “Goddesses” or “Warriors”. In this paper I would like to focus on gender understood as a

cultural process, which also leaves open the possibility of there being more than two categories, such as that of gender ambiguity.

The subject of dual-sexed and gender-ambiguous figurines in Cyprus has been widely discussed. Starting with the Neolithic and Chalcolithic material, this can be illustrated by the multi-representational examples from Khirokitia (Dikaïos 1953, pl. 95) and Sotira (Dikaïos 1961, 209–213), and picrolite figurines with breasts and phallic-shaped necks (Bolger 2003, 105). Also, the sexual and gender identity of Bronze Age plank figurines has led to a wide discussion that included the problem of the lack of any sex-based biological markers, evident in many examples, or the presence of both a beard and breasts, as exhibited in a plank figurine from Nicosia-*Ayia Paraskevi* (Budin 2009, 76–79). Terracottas representing minotaurs with breasts and male genitals were attested in the Iron Age sanctuary of Ayia Irini (Christou 2009). Also, as I will discuss further in this paper, such representations occur among the Early Iron Age figurines.

As case studies I review some of the so-called “Goddesses with Upraised Arms”, a type of anthropomorphic figurines attested in Cyprus from the LC III down to the Classical period, which were especially common during Cypro-Geometric period. They depict a standing human figure wearing a long skirt, with arms stretched upwards, sometimes wearing a polos or tiara, and are considered to represent females. The earliest examples, dated to LC III, were found at Kition and Limassol-*Komissariato*. Figurines from the Cypro-Geometric period have been reported from Ayios Iakovos, Lapithos, Kition, Enkomi, Idalion, Palaepaphos-*Skales*, Ormidhyia, Ayia Irini, and Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou* (Karageorghis 1977; 1993, 59–61). They were found predominantly in sanctuaries, with only three such figurines reported from mortuary contexts, from Lapithos (Karageorghis 1977, 15–16), Palaepaphos-*Skales* (Vandenabeele 1991, 67–68) and Kition-*Chrysopolitissa* (Smith 2009, 127). There are also further examples dated to this period, but these are of unknown provenance (Karageorghis 1993, 85). It should be noted that the material conventionally included in this group consists of numerous figurines which vary in decoration, size, frequency of occurrence at individual sites, and techniques of production. The examples I propose to focus on in this paper are dated to the Cypro-Geometric period, a time when the so-called “Goddesses with Upraised Arms” were a predominant type of anthropomorphic coroplastic form. I will be considering them alongside a second group, the so-called “Warrior” figurines, which are said to represent a standing male with a long skirt, one or two arms outstretched, usually wearing a helmet and holding a spear and shield. Examples of this type have been found, for example, in the sanctuary and adjacent areas in Salamis, and in tombs in Amathus and Rizokarpaso-*Latsia*; however, many of them lack provenance (Karageorghis



Figure 10.1: Wheelmade figurine (Cypro-Geometric II or III), 14cm in height. (Drawing by the author).

1993, 79–81). “Goddesses with Upraised Arms” and “Warrior” figurines were popular during the same periods, and bear a strong visual resemblance to one another.

Both “Goddess” and “Warrior” figurines from the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods depict human figures dressed in a similar long garment covering the body. The skirts are highly decorated, and jewellery, such as bracelets and necklaces with pendants, can be identified in both cases. The figurines also have some features traditionally considered as indications of gender. Beards are either painted or depicted as an articulated chin. Breasts were made in relief or more commonly attached as pellets and were often additionally painted. They were not always prominent but nonetheless they were highly visible in the majority of the examples identified as “Goddesses” figurines.

The representation of both beard and breasts cannot be considered accidental and should not be overlooked. Some examples of the “Goddess” type of figurine preserve traces of paint on their chin, and it has been suggested that this might represent part of a band around the neck or just an articulation of facial characteristics (Karageorghis 1993). However, the paint does not usually continue to the back of the neck and is sometimes accompanied by a moustache, which makes its interpretation as a beard more probable.

Additional gender differentiations include attributes, such as the polos worn by some of the “Goddesses” and the helmets and weapons of “Warriors”. As one might observe, the figurines themselves do not draw our attention to the body as such, since their physical characteristics are schematic and in most cases not prominent. In other words, the representations do not focus on gender, but rather on social roles, presented in the form of specific gestures and attributes. Whether the figurines represent priestesses or priests, worshippers or warriors, it was their social function that was primarily depicted. However, these social roles were themselves clearly gendered. For instance weapons and beard are depicted together, as much as upraised arms are shown together with breasts. Of special importance here are figurines which are not easily

categorised as “Goddesses” or “Warriors”. These are examples which have mixed elements, and attributes that are characteristic of both types (Morris 1999).

One of the figurines I would like to consider – now exhibited in the Cyprus Museum – is 14cm in height, and has been dated on stylistic grounds to the Cypro-Geometric II or III period by Karageorghis (1993, 25) (*Fig. 10.1*). A similar figurine was found in tomb 198 in Amathus (Karageorghis 1993, 25). The body of the figurine is wheelmade and decorated with painted parallel lines and encircling bands. There are visible traces of paint round the wrists and a painted necklace with triangular pendant. The characteristic elements are separate legs, pierced at the upper part, which were attached to perforations on each side of the



Figure 10.2: Wheelmade figurine of an “Adorant” (Cypro-Geometric), 11cm in height (Drawing by the author).

skirt, in a manner similar to some of the “Warrior” figurines. It has well rendered facial characteristics including a defined and painted black chin, together with attached pellet breasts (Vandenabeele 1973, 47–49). Its gender was defined as female (“Goddess”) by Vandenabeele (1973, 48), and as male (“Warrior”) by Karageorghis (1993, 25).

A second example, called an “Adorant” by Vandenabeele (1973, 55), is 11cm in height and is now kept in the Munich Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek. It is also wheelmade and dated to the Cypro-Geometric period (*Fig. 10.2*). The skirt is decorated with a red band and there are also painted bands on the arms (possibly bracelets). The figurine most probably had separate legs, similar to those of the previous example, judging from the perforations on each side of the skirt. It has upraised arms but no breasts. However, it has an articulated chin and is also wearing a helmet (Vandenabeele 1973, 55). There is a similar figurine exhibited in the Museum of the University of Amsterdam; this example also has a visible painted beard (Karageorghis 1993, 79).

Another example is a figurine measuring 13.8cm in height, now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, dating also to the Cypro-Geometric period (*Fig. 10.3*). The decoration consists of horizontal bands in black and purple around the lower part of the skirt and on the arms. The face is well depicted with depressions for the eyes with a circle in black paint around them, and a horizontal groove for the mouth. It also has holes for fixing mobile legs. It is depicted wearing a

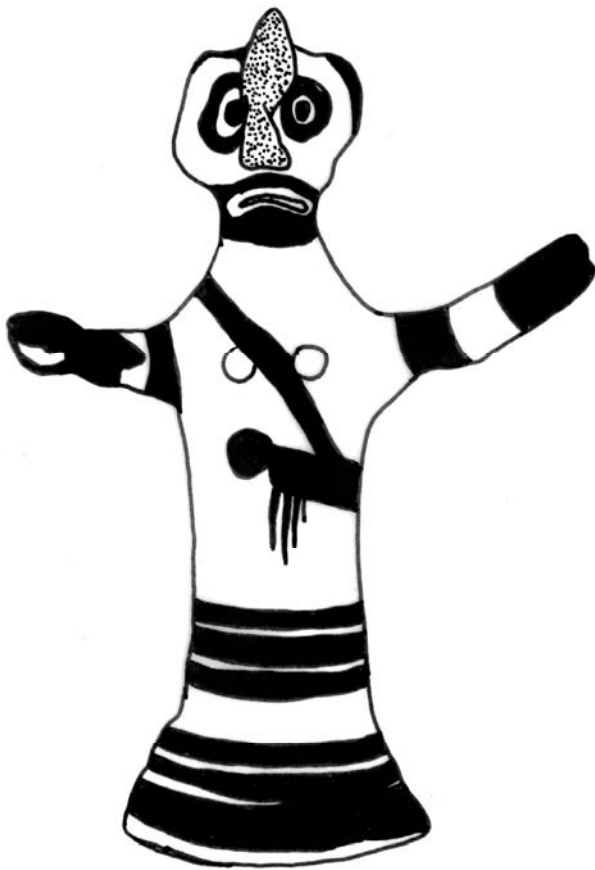


Figure 10.3: Figurine of a “Warrior” (Cypro-Geometric), 13.8cm in height (Drawing by the author).

helmet and carrying a sword, and has a painted moustache and beard. However, this figurine also has a pair of breasts shown in relief (Karageorghis 1993, 80).

“Goddesses with Upraised Arms” were found in sanctuaries associated with Aphrodite or Astarte, and are therefore associated with female deities. However, many examples of these terracottas were also found in the sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi. This might suggest that the cult of which they were part was not gender specific. More importantly, none of these terracottas was identified as a main cult statue. Despite their conventional name, they most likely represented female worshippers or priestesses engaged in cult activity, and were deposited in sanctuaries as

offerings. The latter is supported by the presence of “Goddesses” in *bothroi* at Kition together with other offerings placed there, which were covered to make space for new ones brought to the temple (Smith 2009, 128–134). The nature of the ritual activity that these figurines depicted is not clear, although examples from Enkomi might give us a small insight. Judging from the presence of figurines of male-musicians and fragments of circular plaques, they were most probably arranged in groups of dancers as in later examples (Webb 1999, 213–215). This suggests that the gesture of upraised arms could be not only emblematic or symbolic, but also a part of active performance. “Goddesses with Upraised Arms” may therefore represent participants of ritual that were engaged in dance or other forms of cultic activity. However, it is important to stress that these were gendered female. There is a visible predominance of female imagery in these sanctuaries, and a gesture of upraised arms seems to be originally strictly associated with female representations.

“Warrior” figurines were more widely distributed, and they were found in both mortuary and ritual contexts. They are also more widely interpreted; both Monloup (1994) and

Karageorghis (1993, 79–81), while not ruling out entirely their ritual functions, proposed that they might represent toys, because of their movable legs and the suspension holes in their helmets. Karageorghis (1993, 81) interprets them as a kind of puppet, which might be made to move to become “dancing warriors” as he describes them, “a theme which would be appealing for a toy”. But, why should warriors be dancing, especially with their armour on, one might ask? In later periods such a custom, known as *pyrriches* (military dance), was part of the funerary rites of Cypriot kings, probably including the famous funeral organised by Nicocles for his father, Evagoras (Hadjistephanou 1991, 31–32). Armed warriors led the funeral procession dancing. According to Aristotle, Achilles himself started this tradition during the Trojan War, at the funeral of his friend Patroclus. It was also said to originate from a similar ritual which was performed by warriors before going to battle in Homeric times (Hadjistephanou 1991, 37–39). Thus, if the custom is as old as literary tradition suggests, these figurines might not be toys but rather performers of the *pyrriche* or a similar rite, especially since they are found in mortuary contexts. Their movable legs and often bell-shaped skirts also would support this interpretation (Carstens 2009, 94).

I would like to argue that both “Goddesses” and “Warriors” are illustrations of different strategies employed by gender groups to negotiate their social status. The activities in which they were engaged and their emblematic attributes form part of these strategies. “Goddess” figurines represent claims to authority by promoting a special female relationship with the divine, achieved by participation in special cult activities. “Warriors” employ military iconography to proclaim male claims to prestige by manifesting physical strength and war skills. Moreover both male and female rites – military or ritual dances – could be publicly performed and were thus visible to members of the community and comprised an important part of the processes of constructing the gender relations within Cypriot society.

Thus, the representation of the “upraised arms” gesture together with a beard, or the depiction of a helmeted person with breasts cannot be accidental, because the aforementioned link between the depiction of ritual and the gender of the performers was too strong and too important. Rather, the figurines presented above, which combine aspects of both male and female characteristics, might be considered as an attempt to illustrate the concept of transgressing gender boundaries by participating in certain rites, reserved for the opposite gender. Performance of differently gendered social roles and usage of symbols of prestige, usually attributed to another group would not only redefine one’s social role, but also one’s gender status.

However, the figurines from Cyprus, examples of which I have presented above, do not form a homogenous group but rather present a variety of possibilities; they are a mix-and-match

of different elements indicating gender and social roles. They do not seem to represent an actual third-gender recognised by the society, similar to those known from ethnographic material (Herdt 1994). However, there is no evidence that they are representations of individuals (for an illustration of this approach see Bailey 1994, and Knapp and Meskell 1997). In addition, later standardisation of the “Goddesses with Upraised Arms” type, visible especially in the Archaic period, would suggest that these terracottas were not used to represent individuals. As I stated before, they do not represent a group, but rather different ways of transgressing gender boundaries, which might occasionally have occurred within the specific context of rituals represented by “Goddesses” and “Warriors” figurines. Thus, they did not take on a concrete, standard form, but the notion of crossing such boundaries was clearly present. At the beginning of the 1st millennium BC – a period when new social and gender relations were being constructed in Cyprus – these figurines illustrate the existence of a wide range of possibilities for negotiating one’s role and place within the community and how dynamic these processes were.

The case studies presented above argue that these figurines illustrate ideologies concerning social structures and relations. Also, it should not be assumed that they formed easily defined categories with clear and sharp boundaries, since typologies and classifications are a modern invention used by the scholars who study terracottas and not necessarily by those who produced them. Just as social structures are considered dynamic processes, so too figurines, which do not conform to standard categories, could be described as illustrations of this dynamism and creativity. I argue that different analytical perspectives could be applied to the study of anthropomorphic terracottas, which would constitute complementary rather than antagonistic perspectives. Figurines had multiple meanings and might have served many purposes for those who produced and used them. Similarly, they should be interpreted using different approaches, and in this way reveal different kinds of information about the culture of which they formed a part.

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HATHOR, LA GRANDE DÉESSE ET L'INDUSTRIE DU CUIVRE CHYPRIOTE

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La théologie égyptienne développait un discours sur les minéraux très élaboré et propre à séduire toutes les populations qui, comme les Chypriotes, tiraient bénéfice du commerce des ressources minières, et notamment métallifères. Selon les croyances égyptiennes, la production des mines dépendait d'un cycle végétatif qu'il s'agissait d'entretenir par des rites appropriés adressés à des forces divines spécialisées, lesquelles créaient les minéraux ou étaient identifiées à l'objet de la prospection (Aufrère 1998, 33). Ces forces divines étaient toutes générées à partir d'un seul modèle : l'Hathor de Dendera, divinité attachée à toutes les productions, qu'elles soient de nature métallique, minérale, gommeuse ou résineuse. Parmi ses multiples attributions, la déesse Hathor était en effet chargée d'assurer la fertilité des mines et de protéger et d'encourager la recherche et le commerce des ressources naturelles, et plus particulièrement des métaux précieux tels que le cuivre. Comme telle, Hathor porte l'épithète “*nbt mfk³t*”, “Dame de la turquoise”, terme qui sert également à désigner le cuivre, la malachite ou n'importe quel minerai de couleur bleu-vert (Pinch 1993, 49). Ce qualificatif lui vient du rôle qu'elle joua notamment à Serabit el-Khadim, au Sinaï (Valbelle et Bonnet 1996, 37), où, depuis la XIIe dynastie, la déesse était adorée par les Égyptiens venus, lors d'expéditions, extraire de la turquoise et du minerai de cuivre. Hathor “*nbt mfk³t*” était également vénérée à Timna, un site exclusivement lié à l'extraction du cuivre (Rothenberg 1988) et mentionnée dans des inscriptions du Moyen Empire découvertes à Maghara, Ouadi Kharit et Bir nasib, trois sites en relation avec l'extraction et la fusion du cuivre (Černý 1955, 68–72 ; Giveon 1977 ; Giveon 1978, 76–78).

Ainsi, la découverte à Chypre, l'île du cuivre, de plus d'une centaine d'effigies hathoriques permet de nous interroger sur la diffusion de ces concepts théologiques égyptiens au sein des croyances insulaires. L'image de la déesse égyptienne jouit en effet d'une certaine popularité sur l'île, particulièrement aux VIe-Ve s. av. J.-C. où elle est largement diffusée (*Fig. 11.1*). Ses multiples représentations témoignent, plus que d'un emprunt iconographique, d'une véritable transposition de l'imagerie égyptienne. De fait, les importations égyptiennes sur lesquels figure la

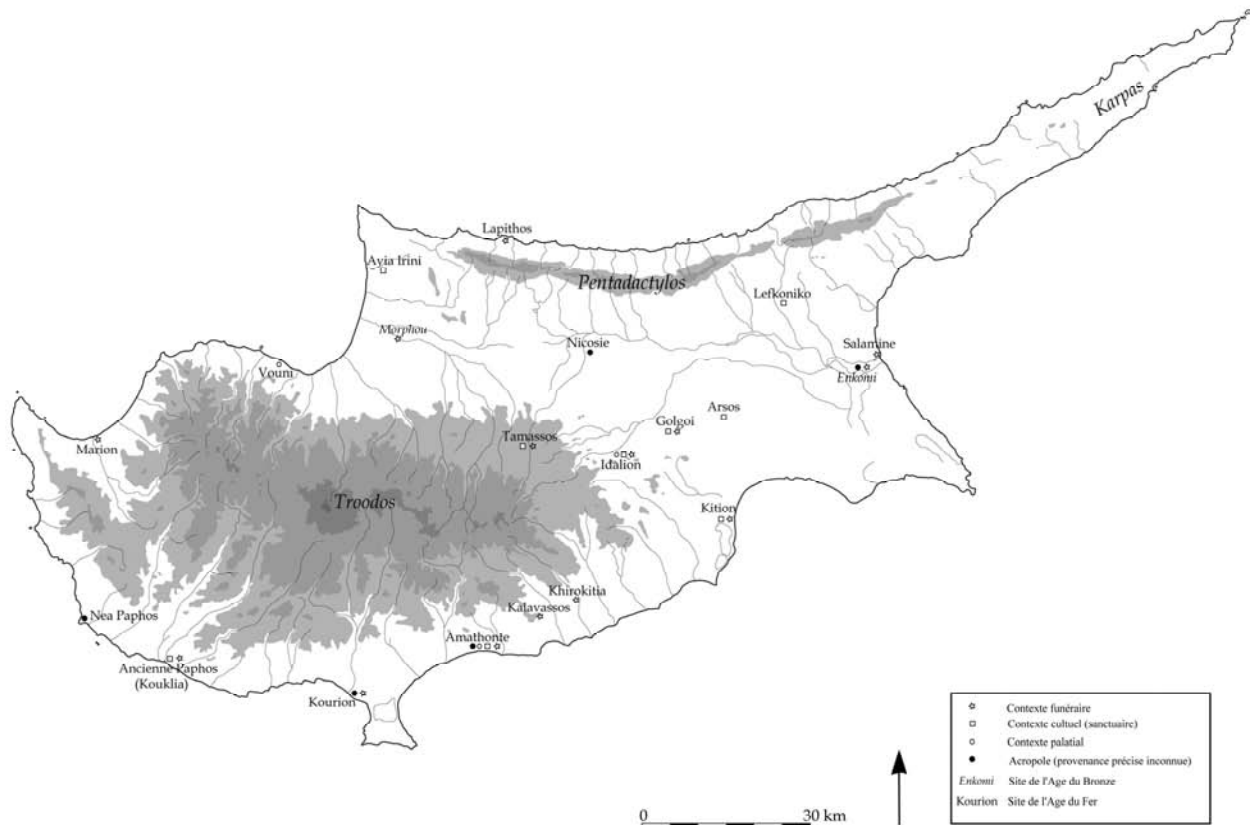


Figure 11.1: Carte de répartition des images hathoriques à Chypre selon leur contexte de découverte.

déesse sont rares sur l'île, tout comme le sont également les copies locales fidèles à son iconographie égyptienne. Ses images sont majoritairement découvertes dans des tombes (sur des pendentifs, des vases, des sceaux, des amulettes, etc.), domaine au sein duquel elle exerce, comme en Égypte, ses fonctions régénérantes (Carbillet à paraître). Plusieurs de ses effigies, et notamment les plus monumentales, proviennent par ailleurs d'un contexte royal et/ou cultuel. Ces dernières ont, pour la plupart, été découvertes sur des sites étroitement liés à la métallurgie ou au commerce du cuivre, tels qu'Amathonte, Kition et Tamassos. L'abondance de gisements cuprifères, associée au développement de l'industrie minière et de son commerce, contribua largement à l'essor économique et à la renommée de l'île. L'accès et le contrôle de cette richesse naturelle éveillèrent très tôt la convoitise des peuples avoisinants et constituèrent aussi, à une échelle locale, un enjeu décisif dans le développement des sites qui détenaient le contrôle de la production et de l'exportation du précieux minerai. L'archéologie a ainsi apporté la preuve qu'à partir du Bronze Récent, alors que Chypre se trouvait au cœur d'un vaste commerce méditerranéen qu'elle alimentait en minerai, ces activités lucratives furent sacralisées et placées sous protectorat divin (Knapp 1986 ; Kassianidou 2005). Existait-il alors un rapport entre ces divinités chypriotes, patronnes des activités minières et métallurgiques, et la présence de ces

images hathoriques dans l'île ? Une série d'indices archéologiques et d'associations divines et contextuelles relevée, au Bronze Récent et à l'Âge du Fer, sur certains sites étroitement liés à l'industrie du cuivre semble bien l'attester.

Genèse de l'association Hathor-cuivre-Grande Déesse : les découvertes d'Enkomi au Bronze Récent

Au Bronze Récent, l'exploitation du cuivre connaît, à Chypre, une explosion qui s'accompagne d'une industrialisation de ce secteur d'activité (Mulhy 1989). De cette époque nous sont également parvenues les plus anciennes attestations archéologiques d'un culte de divinités associées à la métallurgie (Knapp 1986 ; Kassianidou 2005). Les découvertes d'Enkomi et du complexe cultuel de Kition-*Kathari* fournissent des témoignages éloquentes d'une religiosité conditionnée par ces nouveaux aspects du développement économique basé sur le commerce du cuivre. À Kition-*Kathari*, les fouilles du Département des Antiquités Chypriotes révélèrent l'existence, entre la fin du XIII^e s. et le début du XII^e s. av. J.-C., d'ateliers métallurgiques en relation avec la fonte du cuivre, installés à l'intérieur du sanctuaire, dont certains présentaient un accès direct aux édifices cultuels (Karageorghis 1976, 72–74 ; Karageorghis 1985, 6–10, 253–254). Les découvertes d'Enkomi, et celles, notamment, du sanctuaire du “dieu au lingot” suggèrent, quant à elles, l'existence, aux XIII^e-XII^e s. av. J.-C., d'un couple divin de la fertilité et de la fécondité adoré comme protecteur de ces activités (Courtois 1971 ; Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, 66–67). On s'accorde aujourd'hui à reconnaître l'image du dieu protecteur de l'industrie du cuivre (Schaeffer 1966, 61–69) dans la célèbre statuette en bronze mise au jour à l'intérieur de cet édifice, qui représente un guerrier debout sur un lingot chypriote du type dit en “peau de bœuf” (Schaeffer 1971, 506–510, pls. I–VII). Certains chercheurs ont tenté d'identifier ce dieu local avec diverses divinités sémites – Baal, Nergal ou Reshef (Schaeffer 1971, 509–510 ; Lambert 1991, 184) – ou grecques – Héphestos (Catling 1971, 29–30 ; Negbi 1976, 39) –, associées à la métallurgie ; mais, en l'absence de documents épigraphiques, il est difficile de lui assigner un théonyme précis.

Dans la partie occidentale du sanctuaire a également été découvert un grand nombre de statuettes anthropomorphes en terre cuite associé à une idole féminine de plus grande taille (Courtois 1971, 326–356). La majorité de ces figurines représente le type des “déeses aux bras levés”. À l'origine, elles étaient groupées sur de petits socles circulaires en terre cuite. Ces trouvailles révèlent ainsi l'existence d'un culte d'une divinité féminine de la fécondité dans l'enceinte même du sanctuaire. Cette parèdre du “dieu au lingot” d'Enkomi a été reconnue dans une série de statuettes en bronze, dit du “type Bomford”,¹ figurant une divinité féminine nue, qui

repose, comme son homologue masculin, sur un lingot chypriote en “peau de bœuf” (Catling 1971). Ses attributs sexuels bien marqués (triangle pubien et seins protubérants) ainsi que le caractère local de son iconographie la situent dans la lignée des déesses chypriotes de la fécondité. L’association symbolique de cette figure divine au minerais indique explicitement que la Grande Déesse avait, au Bronze Récent, étendu ses fonctions à la fécondité des mines de cuivre, dont elle garantissait désormais la production.²

Parallèlement à ces développements théologiques apparaissent, dans la cité, les premières représentations hathoriques qui témoignent d’une assimilation entre la déesse égyptienne et la Grande Déesse insulaire. L’iconographie de deux sceaux-cylindres traduit explicitement ce processus synchrétique : sur le premier (Fig. 11.2), la déesse hathorique, figurée sous une forme locale mais cependant reconnaissable à sa coiffe composée de deux cornes qui enserrant un disque solaire, s’apprête à recevoir, de prêtres masqués, des capridés en sacrifice, animaux généralement dédiés à la Grande Déesse (Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, 184–185) ; sur le second (Fig. 11.3), elle est représentée comme une *Potnia Therôn*, une divinité féconde toute puissante qui maîtrise les forces terrestres. Celles-ci sont incarnées par le lion qu’elle surmonte et les capridés qu’elle tient en main. Le caractère sacré de la déesse est en outre assuré par les deux sphinx qui encadrent sa tête.

L’association Hathor-Grande Déesse semble ainsi fonctionner pour le Bronze Récent, dans la cité d’Enkomi au moins, et ce parallèlement à l’association cuivre-Grande Déesse que nous avons précédemment établie. L’association Hathor-cuivre – dérivé logique des deux précédentes – a, quant à elle, récemment été mise en perspective par les travaux d’E. J. Peltenburg. L’auteur a



Figure 11.2: (gauche) Sceau-cylindre, Chypriote Récent II, Enkomi, Cyprus Museum, n° 1437. (D’après Dikaios 1969, pl. 180:4).



Figure 11.3: (droite) Sceau-cylindre chypriote, vers 1300 av. J.-C., provenance inconnue, Collège de France, n° Chypre A2. (Dessin d’après Cornelius 2004, cat. 5.11, 126).

en effet souligné l'association récurrente, en Égypte, d'un type particulier de bols en faïence, appelés "common bowls" à Hathor, et démontré de manière décisive la corrélation entre la présence de ces bols à Chypre et le commerce du cuivre (Peltenburg 2007). Datés des XIXe–XXe dynasties, ces bols présentent la particularité d'être décorés de lotus bleus épanouis, de *tilapia nilotica*, de scènes de marécages, d'allaitement, etc., motifs directement rapportés aux concepts hathoriques de fécondité, de renaissance et de régénération (Pinch 1993, 308–315 ; Caubet 2005 ; Peltenburg 2007, 382). Bien que la déesse ne soit jamais explicitement figurée sur ces vases, la couleur bleue, la scène du médaillon central suffisent à l'évoquer. En Égypte, ces bols constituent une variante de bols produits entre les XVIIIe et XXe dynasties, appelés "lotus bowls" ou "Nunschale" (Strauss 1974). Ces derniers sont exclusivement découverts dans les sanctuaires hathoriques, dont la plupart sont en connexion avec l'exploitation du cuivre : on en dénombre ainsi à Serabit el-Khadim, Faras et Timna (Pinch 1993, 308–315). En Égypte, les "common bowls", qui correspondent aux types trouvés à Chypre et – dans une moindre mesure – au Levant, ont été mis au jour dans des tombes ou dans des contextes domestiques, jamais dans des sanctuaires. Ces bols ont donc vraisemblablement été fabriqués dans des faïenceries qui travaillaient en dehors de la sphère religieuse et royale. Contrairement aux "lotus bowls", ces "common bowls" faisaient sans doute l'objet d'échanges à caractère commercial (Peltenburg 2007, 386).

À Chypre, ces bols ont principalement été découverts sur des sites du Bronze Récent étroitement liés à l'extraction, au raffinage et au commerce du cuivre. On relève ainsi une forte concentration à Kition et Enkomi, mais on en trouve aussi à Hala Sultan Tekké (Åström, Bailey et Karageorghis 1976, pls. IV, LXIII ; Åström 1984, fig. 11), Klavdhia, Maroni, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Episkopi-Bamboula, Kouklia, Ayios Sozomenos (Peltenburg 1986, 155–161 ; Jacobsson 1994, 33–42 ; Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, 143–146). Peltenburg propose alors de mettre en relation la présence de ces bols à Chypre avec le commerce du cuivre. L'auteur considère en effet ces artefacts comme de prestigieux cadeaux offerts par les Égyptiens aux principaux acteurs de ce commerce (Peltenburg 2007, 390). Ces dons unilatéraux étaient, semble-t-il, vraisemblablement destinés à garantir les termes de l'échange. L'Égypte comptait en effet parmi les principaux acheteurs de cuivre chypriote (Garenne-Marot 1984, 104–105). Huit lettres d'El Amarna, dans lesquelles sont mentionnés les échanges entre l'Égypte et Chypre/Alašiya, signalent des envois de cuivre (Moran 1992, 104–113, EA 33–40). Chypre figure également parmi les pays producteurs de cuivre mentionnés dans les listes géographiques d'Edfou (Aufrère 1998, 29), ainsi que sur une paroi du temple construit à Louxor par Ramsès II (Lalouette 1979, 341). Hors de Chypre, la concentration de ces objets à Ougarit semble confirmer l'existence de

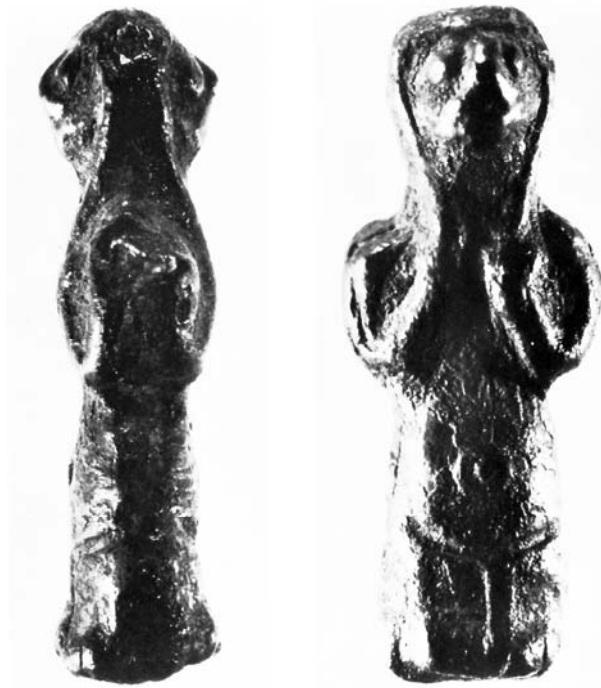


Figure 11.4: Statuette en bronze à l'effigie d'une divinité féminine, découverte dans le "Sanctuaire du dieu cornu" à Enkomi, datée des XIII^e-XII^e s. av. J.-C. (D'après Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, pl. XVIII,9).

ces échanges : la cité était en effet un relais commercial dans la diffusion du cuivre chypriote vers l'Égypte et le Levant. Ainsi, par ce don, les Égyptiens voulaient sans doute, d'une part, s'assurer les faveurs de leurs différents partenaires commerciaux, et, d'autre part, placer d'une manière ingénieuse ce commerce sous l'égide d'une divinité dont les domaines d'action correspondaient parfaitement aux exigences de ces activités. En effet, parmi ses multiples fonctions, la déesse égyptienne était également chargée de protéger la navigation et de veiller sur les Égyptiens qui se rendaient en territoires étrangers (Bleeker 1973, 72). Transférés dans le contexte chypriote, ces bols, symboliquement chargés de ces croyances, avaient sans doute vocation à

favoriser la régénération des ressources terrestres et la production minière.

Sur l'île, ces bols ont principalement été découverts dans des tombes, et vraisemblablement celles des riches commerçants, entrepreneurs ou aristocrates chypriotes qui contrôlaient ce lucratif commerce du cuivre. En qualité d'*exotica*, ces objets étaient certainement considérés comme des marqueurs de statut importants qui accompagnaient leur propriétaire jusque dans la mort. En outre, ces bols étaient porteurs d'une iconographie dont la symbolique liée à la régénération et à la renaissance était en adéquation avec l'eschatologie chypriote. Déposés auprès du défunt, ils attestent la croyance en l'espérance d'une vie nouvelle dans l'Au-delà. Ces objets étaient donc vraisemblablement vecteurs des concepts théologiques égyptiens dont ils étaient symboliquement chargés, ces derniers étant au moins partiellement compris par leurs récepteurs. Un argument décisif permet de confirmer cette hypothèse : en dehors des tombes, ces bols ont en effet été dédiés au sanctuaire de Kition, celui-ci étant, nous l'avons vu, étroitement associé à la métallurgie du cuivre. Acquis dans le cadre de ce prestigieux commerce du cuivre, ces offrandes étaient sans doute destinées à soutenir la "propagande" élitaires qui prétendait ainsi légitimer son statut auprès de la divinité (Knapp 1986, 77–79). Nous pouvons également imaginer que, de façon non spécifiquement "politique", ces élites espéraient aussi attirer la protection de leur divinité sur les ressources du territoire.

À côté de ces bols en faïence, la cité d'Enkomi a enfin livré une figurine biface en bronze, à l'effigie d'une divinité féminine, qui gagne tout notre intérêt (*Fig. 11.4*). Datée des XIII^e-XII^e s. av. J.-C., celle-ci fut découverte dans le "sanctuaire du dieu cornu" d'Enkomi. Reconnu dans la célèbre statuette éponyme (Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, pl. XVIII,5), ce dieu est généralement identifié au Grand Dieu de la fécondité, chef du panthéon local, duquel le "dieu au lingot", protecteur du métal, devait sans doute être un avatar. Trois petits lingots votifs en "peau de bœuf" ont en effet été découverts à l'intérieur et à proximité immédiate de ce sanctuaire (Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, 67, pl. XVIII,11-12). D'après son lieu de découverte, la petite statuette féminine peut être considérée comme une image de la parèdre du Grand Dieu cornu (Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, 77). Elle est figurée debout, nue, les mains ramenées sur la poitrine, iconographie qui l'inscrit dans la longue série des déesses nues du Proche-Orient et de Chypre, et qui représentent la Grande Déesse de la fécondité et de la fertilité, aux multiples attributions. Les tresses qui constituent sa coiffure l'apparentent étroitement à la série des figurines de "type Bomford", images de la Grande Déesse protectrice du cuivre et parèdre du "dieu au lingot". Or, fait remarquable, cette figure divine comporte clairement des caractéristiques hathoriques : il s'agit de sa coiffure d'une part, avec le galbe caractéristique, qui suit la courbe du visage, puis tombe en avant des épaules en deux masses amincies (Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, 77, 80) ; et de sa bifrontalité d'autre part, qui constitue, cette fois-ci, un trait exceptionnel pour la période qui nous concerne. Elle évoque pourtant celle des chapiteaux hathoriques égyptiens contemporains et des chapiteaux hathoriques chypriotes du I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. dont nous reparlerons ci-après.

Les témoignages que nous venons de présenter sont autant d'indices qui argumentent en faveur de l'interaction qui s'est opérée entre la personnalité de l'égyptienne Hathor et celle de la Grande Déesse insulaire au Bronze Récent. Au contact de la déesse égyptienne, la Grande Déesse chypriote s'est visiblement enrichie de nouvelles fonctions alors dictées par les enjeux économiques liés au développement de l'industrie du cuivre. On ne peut toutefois affirmer que la Grande Déesse spécialisée dans la fécondité des mines ait été, à cette époque, directement identifiée à Hathor, mais on ne peut douter du rôle que cette dernière a joué dans la formation de cette idéologie, ce que viennent encore nous confirmer les découvertes de l'Âge du Fer.

L'hathorisation des forces divines de la métallurgie à l'Âge du Fer

Survivance de l'association cuivre-Grande Déesse

Les découvertes des sanctuaires d'Aphrodite à Tamassos (Buchholz 1973, 361-363) et d'Astarté à Kition-Kathari (Karageorghis 1976, 113-114) et Kition-Bamboula (Yon 2006, 96) trahissent la

reprise, à l'Âge du Fer, des traditions culturelles liées à l'industrie du cuivre, héritées du Bronze Récent. Les fouilles de ces enceintes sacrées ont en effet révélé l'existence d'ateliers métallurgiques liés à la fonte du cuivre, actifs aux époques archaïque, classique et parfois même hellénistique, et implantés à l'intérieur même du sanctuaire. Ces ateliers communiquaient directement avec les lieux de culte, suggérant ainsi que ces activités industrielles dépendaient du pouvoir religieux, qui lui-même était probablement sous contrôle royal. Ces sanctuaires étaient dédiés à la Grande Déesse de la fécondité, qui aura, semble-t-il, supplanté le Grand Dieu dans ces fonctions. Ces témoignages apportent ainsi la preuve de la survivance de l'association cuivre-Grande Déesse à l'Âge du Fer. Qu'en était-il de l'association Hathor-cuivre ?

Les chapiteaux hathoriques et l'industrie du cuivre

Aucune effigie hathorique n'est attestée sur l'île entre la fin du Chypriote Récent III et les Chypro-géométrique III/Chypro-archaïque I. Ce n'est qu'à partir du VIII^e s. av. J.-C., alors que se forment les premières royautés chypriotes, que l'imagerie hathorique refait surface en divers endroits de l'île. Celle-ci se décline à présent sur une variété de supports (bols en argent, vases en céramique, terres cuites, sculptures en pierre, bijoux en or et en argent, amulettes en faïence, etc.) fabriqués par des artisans locaux. Ces images sont, dans un premier temps, concentrées dans de riches tombes et notamment celles des élites dirigeantes des royautés naissantes, comme en témoignent les découvertes de la tombe royale 79 de Salamine (Karageorghis 1973, 84, 112–113, pls. LXXXIX, CCLXXII, CCXLIII, CCXLVI) et de la tombe royale IV de Tamassos (Buchholz 1993, 197, fig. 1f). À partir de la 2^e moitié du VI^e s. av. J.-C., ces représentations se monumentalisent : certaines adoptent alors la forme d'un chapiteau hathorique biface, sculpté à l'effigie de la déesse dont la tête émerge d'une ombelle de papyrus (*Fig. 11.5*). Ces chapiteaux sont les premiers chapiteaux figuratifs que Chypre ait produits, et la manifestation la plus éloquente de la prédominance, à cette époque, de l'imagerie hathorique sur l'île. À Chypre, la production de ces artefacts s'échelonne entre le 2^e quart du VI^e et la seconde moitié du V^e s. av. J.-C. (Carbillet 2009, 156–157). Certains ont été découverts dans des sanctuaires consacrés à la Grande Déesse (pour Amathonte : Hermary 2000, n° 972, 148–149, pl. 87 ; Kition-Bamboula : Caubet, Pic 1982 ; Tamassos : Buchholz 1993, 202, n° 22–23, pl. LV), attestant ainsi de la pérennité de l'association Hathor-Grande Déesse ; d'autres dans les palais d'Amathonte (Hermary 2000, n° 969–971, pls. 83–86 ; Carbillet 2008), d'Idalion (Hadjicosti 1997, 56, fig. 21) et de Vouni (Von Mercklin 1962, 21, fig. 92 ; Hermary 1985, 667, fig. 13), prouvant, qu'au moins dans ces cités, l'imagerie hathorique était également devenue une prérogative royale (Petit 1995, 137–139 ; Carbillet 2006, 33 ; Carbillet 2009, 330–331).



Figure 11.5: Chapiteau hathorique supposé provenir du sanctuaire d'Astarté de Kition-Bamboula, daté de la 2^e moitié du VI^e s. av. J.-C., conservé au Musée du Louvre à Paris, n° inv. AM 93.

L'usage de ces sculptures monumentales n'est sans doute pas unique. Certaines ont pu être utilisées en tant que chapiteaux porteurs, comme le laisse suggérer la présence, sur un petit nombre d'entre elles, de mortaises au lit d'attente ; d'autres avoir été placées sur des bases ou au sommet de colonnes ou de piliers indépendants (Carbillet à paraître). Leur fonction cultuelle est en revanche formellement assurée par diverses trouvailles archéologiques, et notamment par un fragment d'amphorique décoré dans le style d'Amathonte, daté du début du Ve s. av. J.-C., sur lequel figure une scène de culte adressé à un chapiteau hathorique d'un type identique à ceux découverts en fouille (Musée du Louvre, n° AM 393d, Carbillet à paraître, fig. 5).

À Chypre, ce culte du pilier hathorique semble avoir été directement emprunté à l'Égypte. Il ne connaît en effet aucun équivalent levantin. En Égypte par contre, l'offrande à des figures en relief et à des statues colossales situées dans les aires extérieures des temples est une pratique

attestée au Nouvel Empire (Yoyotte 1960, 42–44). Le culte du pilier hathorique est lui-même évoqué sur des stèles datées de la XVIII^e dynastie, qui figurent une colonne-sistre hathorique flanquée de deux adorants (Schroer 1989, figs. 144, 146). Or, en Égypte, ce culte du pilier hathorique est précisément attesté, au Nouvel Empire, sur des sites en relation avec l'extraction du cuivre. À Serabit el-Khadim par exemple, une colonne hathorique non architectonique a été découverte *in situ* au centre de la cour à ciel ouvert du sanctuaire, colonne qui, selon le fouilleur, devait constituer un objet de culte en soi (Petrie 1906, 86). Du début de la XVIII^e au début de la XX^e dynastie, des colonnes hathoriques miniatures ont en outre été offertes sur le site (Pinch 1993, 146, pl. 29), prouvant qu'il s'agissait là d'une forme sous laquelle la déesse était adorée. Un petit *ex-voto* en bois, daté de la XVIII^e dynastie et découvert dans le sanctuaire de Deir el-



Figure 11.6: *Ex-voto* en bois gravé au nom d' Hathor "Dame de Denderah", XVIIIe Dynastie, Deir el-Bahari, (D'après Von Mercklin 1962, fig. 7).

Bahari confirme encore cette hypothèse : il figure une colonne hathorique non architectonique qui repose sur un podium triangulaire flanqué de deux escaliers symétriques (Fig. 11.6). Cet objet est gravé au nom d'Hathor, "Dame de Dendera", divinité qui, rappelons-le, est spécialisée dans la production des minéraux et métaux précieux.

À Chypre, ces chapiteaux ont été découverts dans les sanctuaires et les palais des cités-royaumes qui jalonnaient l'une des principales routes du cuivre chypriote, celle qui reliait les mines situées à proximité de Tamassos à la cité côtière de Kition et à son port. Depuis les poèmes homériques (*Odyssée* I.184) jusqu'à l'époque romaine, Tamassos est connue pour la présence de mines de cuivre sur son territoire (Strabon, *Géographie*, 14.6.5 ; Etienne de Byzance, *Ethniques*, 599, 1.6). Kition, quant à elle, est une cité côtière contrôlée par les Phéniciens, lesquels s'y sont installés dès la fin du IXe s. av. J.-C. afin de s'approvisionner en matières premières et notamment en cuivre. Nous savons, par ailleurs, que la cité de Tamassos fournissait du minerai à Kition et qu'elle fut même annexée, vers le milieu du IVe s. av. J.-C., par Pumayyaton de Kition, qui voulait probablement renforcer le contrôle des mines et sécuriser la chaîne de production du cuivre, des sites d'extraction du minerai jusqu'aux ateliers de métallurgie implantés sur les sites côtiers. Deux chapiteaux hathoriques furent découverts dans le sanctuaire de Kition-*Bamboula* et les fragments de deux autres proviennent du sanctuaire de Tamassos. Ces deux sanctuaires étaient, rappelons-le, consacrés à la Grande Déesse locale, protectrice de l'industrie métallurgique qui prenait symboliquement place en leur sein. La concordance semble ici trop forte pour être fortuite.

Sur cette route du cuivre, localisée entre les mines situées à proximité de Tamassos et le port de Kition, se trouvait également Idalion. La cité constituait un point stratégique qui lui coûta son annexion au royaume de Kition entre 470 et 450 av. J.-C. (Hermay 2005), les Phéniciens désirant sécuriser et contrôler cette route commerciale. Dans la couche d'abandon du palais phénicien, datée de la fin du IVe s. av. J.-C. par une monnaie d'Evagoras II et de Pumayyaton de Kition, a également été découvert un fragment de chapiteau hathorique. Ce dernier provient d'une pièce située à l'intérieur des magasins du palais, lesquels livrèrent des traces d'activités métallurgiques (Christou 1993, 742 ; Hadjisavvas 1998, 674). Ces monuments balisent ainsi chacun des points stratégiques situés sur cette route du cuivre.

Les découvertes de la cité d'Amathonte vont également dans le sens d'une telle interprétation. La prospérité de cette cité était en grande partie assurée par l'industrie du cuivre et l'exportation de sa production vers l'Égypte, le Levant et la Grèce via le port de la cité. Amathonte est elle-même qualifiée de *gravida metallis* par Ovide (*Métamorphoses*, X, 220). Cette industrie minière constituait une préoccupation majeure du royaume et de son autorité. Le choix de "Bès" comme avatar du Grand Dieu de la cité, parèdre de la Grande Déesse, y fait directement référence. I. Tassignon s'est attachée à montrer les liens étroits qui unissaient cette figure divine à la protection des mines (Tassignon 2005). Les nains sont en effet depuis toujours associés, dans l'imaginaire collectif, à la gestion des ressources terrestres. Les travaux de Th. Petit ont par ailleurs révélé que le roi amathousien s'identifiait directement à cette figure divine égyptisante (Petit 2006). L'autorité royale se plaçait ainsi comme la garante de l'exploitation des mines et du contrôle de leur production. La fécondité des mines était, elle, vraisemblablement assurée par sa parèdre, la Grande Déesse, qui revêtait alors les traits de l'égyptienne Hathor. Aux VIe-Ve s. av. J.-C., la cité connaît en effet une recrudescence des images hathoriques, marquée notamment par l'apparition, au palais, des chapiteaux monumentaux qui comptent parmi les plus anciens découverts à Chypre. Leur prépondérance au palais, d'où semblent provenir pas moins de neuf exemplaires (Carbillet 2009, 187–190), indique que la figure hathorique avait été choisie par le pouvoir royal comme l'image de la divinité poliade, avatar de la *Kypria*, la Grande Déesse locale (Petit 1995, 135). Le choix du couple divin de cette cité est particulièrement significatif : Hathor et Bès sont respectivement les images de la prospérité et du messenger, garants de l'économie. Les figurations égyptisantes du couple divin amathousien paraissent donc clairement répondre à des impératifs économiques. L'adoption de ces figures divines témoigne expressément de l'influence de l'Égypte sur l'élaboration du panthéon divin et des croyances religieuses amathousiennes, par la diffusion d'une partie des concepts théologiques qui avaient cours dans la Vallée du Nil.

À la lumière de tous ces témoignages, on peut alors supposer, qu'à Chypre comme en Égypte, le culte du pilier hathorique était précisément lié aux activités métallurgiques qui prenaient place dans ces cités. Les effigies chypriotes de la déesse comportent cependant une caractéristique qui les différencie pleinement de leurs archétypes égyptiens et qui atteste, bien plus qu'une simple diffusion, d'une véritable transposition de ces concepts : il s'agit des oreilles bovines, attributs indissociables des représentations égyptiennes de la déesse, remplacées, à Chypre, par de larges oreilles humaines. Cette transformation n'est vraisemblablement pas fortuite, comme l'attestent les quelques représentations de manufacture locale sur lesquelles apparaissent ces oreilles bovines,³ mais bien le résultat d'un choix tout à fait signifiant : ces

oreilles humanisées permettaient l'identification de cette figure divine à la Grande Déesse ; à Chypre, les attributs bovins sont par ailleurs l'apanage exclusif du Grand Dieu et sont totalement étrangers à la déesse chypriote. Les chapiteaux hathoriques pourraient donc avoir été, aux VIe-Ve s. av. J.-C., des substituts de la Grande Déesse honorée pour ses fonctions fécondes et protectrices des activités liées à l'exploitation, sous toutes ses formes, du métal.

Excursus économique et géographique

Aux VIe-Ve s. av. J.-C. s'opère, à Chypre, une hathorisation des forces divines de la métallurgie. Ce phénomène survient à la suite d'un véritable bouleversement dans les réseaux économiques entretenus par l'Égypte. Entre les VIIIe et VIe s. av. J.-C., les Phéniciens, qui contrôlaient alors les différentes routes de l'étain, du plomb argentifère en Andalousie, alimentaient en matériaux bruts l'ensemble du Bassin Méditerranéen et notamment l'Égypte. S'interrogeant sur la corrélation entre l'arrivée croissante de bronze en Égypte et l'expansion phénicienne, notamment vers la Péninsule Ibérique, J. Padró I Parcerisa démontra que l'accroissement des relations phénico-égyptiennes qui s'observe entre les XXIIe et XXVIe dynasties était dû à l'existence d'un important commerce de minerais de cuivre. À ce dernier correspond une amélioration de la fonte du bronze en Égypte, depuis l'époque libyenne jusqu'à l'époque saïte (Padró I Parcerisa 1998). Aussi, au début du VIe s. av. J.-C., l'intégration de la Phénicie dans l'empire assyrien priva *ipso facto* l'Égypte de son principal fournisseur de cuivre. Afin de suppléer l'éloignement des Phéniciens du marché du cuivre en Méditerranée orientale, les Égyptiens concentrèrent alors leur attention sur Chypre. Ce bouleversement des rapports économiques donna lieu à une intensification du commerce du cuivre entre ces deux régions. Le pharaon Amasis (vers 570–526 av. J.-C.) tenta même de mettre la main sur l'île et sur son cuivre si convoité (Caprez-Csornay 2006, 218–219). La multiplication des petits objets égyptiens et égyptisants dans l'île et des manifestations du style et de l'iconographie égyptisants dans la plastique chypriote à cette époque constitue un indice en faveur de l'existence de relations privilégiées, principalement économiques, entre ces deux régions de la Méditerranée. C'est précisément dans ce contexte de renouveau économique que fut introduit, à Chypre, le culte du pilier hathorique. D'un point de vue chypriote, cette figure divine assurait la fécondité de la Terre et avec elle la prospérité des cités attachées au commerce de ses richesses. D'un point de vue égyptien, la reconnaissance d'une Hathor chypriote favorisait probablement les transactions liées à ce commerce.

Pour clore cet excursus, nous devons également considérer la cité de Byblos et sa *Baalat Gubal*. Celles-ci ont vraisemblablement joué un rôle qu'il est difficile de déterminer dans la diffusion de ces concepts hathoriques. La *Baalat Gubal*, la divinité suprême locale, eut une

histoire tout à fait particulière marquée par la forte empreinte égyptienne qui s'exerça sur les cultes de la cité, à la faveur des liens économiques étroits que les Égyptiens entretenaient avec les Giblites : ces derniers échangeaient en effet du bois résineux contre l'or et des produits originaires des rives du Nil (Montet 1928, 9). Divinité poliade, protectrice du commerce et des échanges diplomatiques giblites, spécialisée dans la navigation, la *Baalat Gubal* était vénérée sous les traits d'une Hathor phéniciisée (Bonnet 1996, 20). À l'iconographie d'Hathor, la *Baalat Gubal* emprunta en particulier la couronne dite hathorique, pourvue de cornes enserrant un disque solaire. Dès l'Ancien Empire, l'identification entre Hathor, "Dame de Dendera" et la *Baalat Gubal* est assurée par divers textes. Celle-ci perdurera tout au long du II^e millénaire av. J.-C. (Montet 1928, 275 ; Lipinski 1995, 70 ; Bonnet 1996, 21). L'adaptation du panthéon syro-cananéen aux impératifs religieux égyptiens s'inscrit donc dans un processus tout à fait similaire à celui qui s'opère à Chypre aux VI^e-Ve s. av. J.-C. Il semble ainsi qu'aux II^e et I^{er} millénaires av. J.-C., sous l'influence de l'Égypte, les forces divines régissant le commerce méditerranéen se soient homogénéisées en un concept diffusé et adopté sur le pourtour de la Méditerranée orientale.

Conclusion

La théologie égyptienne semble donc avoir été une source d'inspiration pour les Chypriotes.⁴ Ces derniers y puisèrent des concepts divins qu'ils transposèrent à leurs propres besoins. L'hathorisation des forces divines de la métallurgie prouve que les Chypriotes avaient une connaissance approfondie de la personnalité de la déesse égyptienne, à la faveur, sans doute, des relations économiques privilégiées entretenues entre l'île et l'Égypte depuis le II^e millénaire av. J.-C., et sur lesquelles, nous l'avons vu, cette divinité régnait en maître.

Summary in English

The Egyptian goddess Hathor oversees the research and the trade of natural resources, and, more particularly, of precious metals such as copper. Since the Middle Kingdom, Hathor "*nbt mfk³t*" "Lady of the Turquoise", was specialized in the protection of mining sites such as Serabit el-Khadim, Timna and Gebel Zeit. The discovery of representations of this goddess in Cyprus, the island of copper, allows us to examine the diffusion of these Egyptian theological concepts. Introduced in the Late Bronze Age, images of the Egyptian goddess reached a certain level of popularity, particularly in the 6th–5th centuries BC. The discoveries of Enkomi reveal that from the 13th century BC the image of the Egyptian goddess was obviously identified with that of the "Great Goddess" who shared with her the duties of the guardian of mining. This city supplied

Egypt with copper. In order to facilitate this trade, the Egyptians provided the main actors of the Cypriot copper trade with prestigious furniture with hathoric connotation: the presence at Enkomi, of a particular series of Egyptian faience bowls shows the diffusion of the theological concepts associated to this Egyptian goddess. In the 6th-5th centuries BC, this diffusion is still present and is confirmed by a series of contextual and divine associations founded on sites which benefited from the exploitation of Cypriot copper and its trade. The transposition of these theological concepts is particularly revealed by the presence of hathoric capitals of local manufacture in the sanctuaries of Aphrodite at Tamassos and Astarte at Kition-*Bamboula*, and in the palaces of Amathous and Idalion. Such monuments in Cyprus appear to have been linked, as in the case of Egypt, with the worship of the protective goddess of the mining activities.

Notes

- 1 Deux autres fragments de statuettes en bronze provenant de Nicosie et de Paphos présentent une iconographie similaire mais leurs jambes ont disparu ; pour la statuette de Nicosie, *cf.* Dikaios 1936, 109–110, pl. XXXIV,3; pour celle de Paphos, *cf.* Karageorghis 1990, 29, n° K.5, 59–60, pl. XXI.
- 2 Pour d'autres témoignages de cette association au Bronze Récent, voir également Webb 1999, 298–302.
- 3 Ces oreilles bovines figurent, par exemple, sur l'une des plus anciennes représentations chypriotes de la déesse : il s'agit d'une plaquette en ivoire décorée d'un masque hathorique, datée du Chypriote Récent I et découverte dans une tombe d'Enkomi, *cf.* Courtois, Lagarce et Lagarce 1986, 130, pl. XXV:5. Elles apparaissent sporadiquement à l'Âge du Fer : sur une plaquette en or provenant d'une tombe amathousienne datée du CG III, *cf.* Laffineur 1992, pl. VIII ; sur les appliques d'un chaudron en bronze daté du milieu du VIII^e s. av. J.-C., découvert dans la tombe royale 79 de Salamine, *cf.* Hermay 1985, fig. 24 ; sur plusieurs sculptures datées du VI^e s. av. J.-C. découvertes à Golgoi, *cf.* Palma di Cesnola 1885–1903, vol. I, pl. XVIII:27 (stèle funéraire), pl. XXII:50 (masque hathorique décorant le devant de *shenti* d'une statue masculine égyptisante), pl. XXII:51 (chapiteau proto-éolique).
- 4 Pour d'autres exemples d'éléments de la théologie égyptienne repris dans l'iconographie chypriote, notamment à l'époque archaïque, *cf.* Fourrier 2009 ; Flourentzos 2009.

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CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY: VOTIVE SCULPTURE FROM THE ARCHAIC TO EARLY HELLENISTIC SANCTUARY AT MARONI-*VOURNES*

Anja Ulbrich

Maroni-*Vournes* on the south coast of Cyprus, halfway between Limassol and Larnaca, is mainly known as a Late Bronze Age (LBA) site occupied from Late Cypriot (LC) I to LC IIC. In its final phase, *Vournes* III, it was equipped with the monumental Ashlar Building and the West Building, separated by a street, both serving administrative and economic purposes, including olive-oil and textile production (Cadogan 1992, 52, fig. 1). The complex was abandoned at about 1200 BC without any sign of destruction (Cadogan 1998, 8; forthcoming with further references). After that, there is no evidence of any occupation or use of the site for about 450 years. Finds of large amounts of Archaic and later, almost exclusively Cypriot, pottery from inside the Ashlar Building indicate that from about the mid-8th century BC onwards the front and central parts of this building were restored and re-used as a sanctuary by people living nearby (*cf.* area-map in Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 1). The style of votive-figures of local limestone and terracotta and the lack of any distinctive Hellenistic pottery suggests that it was in use until about the end of the 3rd century BC when it was abandoned with no evidence of destruction of any kind (Cadogan 1983, 156–157, pls. XXII–XXIII:2; 1986, 44, pl. IX:4; Ulbrich forthcoming).

Worshippers approached the *temenos* (Fig. 12.1) from a levelled open square with a lime, pebble and stone-chip floor in the southeast of the complex (space A) through a frontal porch (space B), its roof supported by a monumental square pillar (CU).¹ The actual entrance was, as in the 13th century BC, situated asymmetrically in the north-eastern back corner of the porch. In the Archaic period, however, it was intentionally narrowed by a newly erected, approximately knee-height angular stone-structure (DB). It contained various small Archaic and Classical juglets and was originally tentatively identified as a child's cenotaph (Cadogan 1992, 57, pl. 15:2–3). As no such thing is attested for any Cypriot sanctuary in any period, and since the structure is positioned

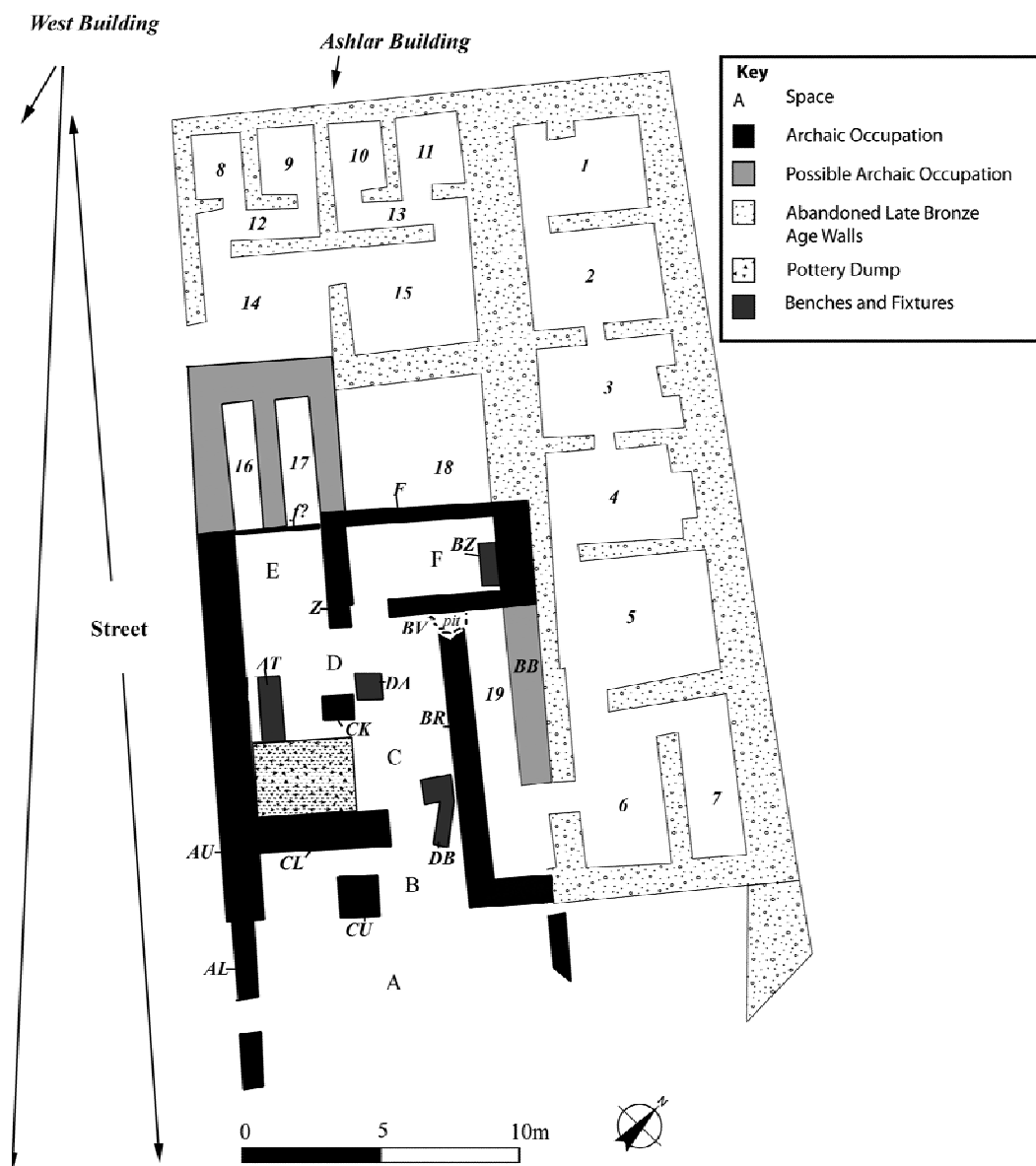


Figure 12.1: Plan of the LBA Ashlar Building at Maroni-Vournes showing its re-use from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

directly at the only entrance to the *temenos*, it must have rather served as a built *bothros* for entrance-offerings, possibly libations (Ulbrich forthcoming).

The votaries then stepped into a central courtyard (C), probably with a wide porch along its southwest side, its roof supported by a pillar on base CK.² There was a built offering bench (AT) in the roofed area, and just outside the porch was an offering table, DA, built from recycled ashlar blocks from unused parts of the LBA Ashlar building.

At the back of the partly roofed courtyard, there were two rooms: Room E was completely open towards the porch and yielded a *bothros* in a central position made of a cut-off LBA pithos-

neck. Various juglets found in its immediate vicinity suggest that it was probably used for libations (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. 22:2). In contrast, Room F was only accessible through a narrow door and featured an altar or offering table (BZ) which was built from re-used ashlar blocks against its north-eastern ashlar wall (BB).

Votive-figures from Maroni-Vournes

It was in these rooms as well as in the courtyard and porch towards the north-western backside of the whole sanctuary that, beside fragmentary pottery, lamps and ash-shovels, the fragments of some 35 terracotta figures and 70 limestone statuettes were found (Cadogan, 1983, 156–157, pl. XXII:4–8; 1986, 44, pl. IX:4; Ulbrich 2008, 282–283 [AM 18]; forthcoming, figs. 3–12). Their relatively small number, in comparison with other sanctuaries, some of which yielded hundreds or even thousands of votive figures, suggests that they represent the last set of votive-figures displayed in the *temenos* before it was abandoned at about the end of the 3rd century BC. This suggestion is corroborated by the fact that the majority of the limestone statuettes date to the 4th and 3rd century BC (Cadogan 1983, 156–157; Ulbrich forthcoming, figs. 8–11).

Most of the fragmentarily preserved terracottas seem to be of an earlier date, as they are made in the style of the Archaic period (Cadogan 1983, 156). In particular, the small, handmade and solid terracottas of animals and humans could have escaped earlier clearouts, a practice which is well attested at many sanctuaries in Cyprus and Greece. On the other hand, solid figurines of this style could have been produced well down to the Classical and possibly even the Hellenistic period in Cyprus, even after the introduction and production of mould-made Greek-style types from the 5th century BC onwards. Of the latter, Maroni yielded only one example, a figurine of a female votary. However, there were fragments of up to life-size, partly wheel-made, hollow terracotta figures which suggest that these Archaic pieces (such as Ulbrich forthcoming, figs. 6–7) might have been intentionally kept in the *temenos* during the whole time-span of its use, probably for cult-related reasons. Considering the evidence from other Cypriot sanctuary sites, it can be safely assumed that there existed *favissae* for discarded votive-figures near Maroni-Vournes, but these were not found during the excavations between 1983 and 1994.

Maroni-Vournes yielded no dedicatory inscriptions identifying the deity or deities worshipped at the site, as is the case for almost 170 of the more than 200 archaeologically attested Cypriot sanctuaries of the Archaic and Classical period (Ulbrich 2008, 49–50 including catalogue and tables in 263–504). Therefore, the iconography of the votive-figures from Maroni is the only way to determine the identity of the deity or deities and to assess their meaning and

function for the local community. Furthermore, the iconography elucidates elements of the cult proper.

Such “iconographic identification” is made possible thanks to a distinctly gender-related votive-practice in Cyprus from the Archaic to the early Hellenistic period. In essence, the sex of the deity or deities worshipped at a site is clearly reflected in the sex of the vast majority of the votive-figures dedicated there. This applies not only to the relatively rare certain or possible examples of deity-images, but also to the votary-figures (further elaborated in Ulbrich 2008, 49–63, pls. 6–7). This practice, which is well attested for sanctuaries in which the deities are identified epigraphically, allows the attribution of epigraphically unidentified *temene* through the iconography of the votive-figures. For example, more than 80% of several hundred votive-figures from the epigraphically identified sanctuary of “Aphrodite Kypria” on the acropolis at Amathous depict females, including all certain and possible images of the goddess herself, and the vast majority of the votaries (Ulbrich 2008, 51, 268–271 [AM 1]; Hermay 2000 with plates). The sanctuary of “Apollon” or “Reschef” at Tamassos-*Frangissa*, securely identified by epigraphic testimonia, such as Greek and Phoenician bilingual dedicatory inscriptions, yielded a similarly large corpus of votive-figures, more than 80% of which depicted males (Ulbrich 2008, 51, 475–476 [TA 4] with references and pl. 7; Buchholz 1991, 5–15, pls. 3–6). Furthermore, there is epigraphic evidence of sanctuaries dedicated to a divine couple which is also reflected in a more balanced numerical proportion between male and female types of votaries, and the presence of male and female deity representations side by side. One case in point is the sanctuary of Astarte and Melqart in Kition (Ulbrich 2008, 345–348 [KI 2]; Gjerstad 1937, 1–75, pls. V-XXXIX; Calvet 1993, 116–122 with figures; Bonnet 1996, 70–73). Principally, the number of deity-figures in Cypriot sanctuaries constitutes a fraction of the total number of votive-figures in terracotta or local limestone. In their majority they represent votaries and, less frequently, animals. Nevertheless, these deity figures, however small in number, provide the most explicit or diagnostic indicators for the sex and the function of the deity worshipped at any site, complemented by the iconography of the rest of the votive figures (Ulbrich 2008, 53–62).

Deity images

Despite the relatively small number of votive-figures preserved at Maroni-*Vournes*, three types of statuettes representing a deity, albeit fragmentary, were found within the *temenos*.

The earliest is a head of the so-called “Goddess with vegetal crown”, dated to the second half of the 5th century BC (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 10) (*Fig. 12.2*). The crown is rather stylised but clearly derived from more elaborate examples of this type, e.g. from Idalion (*cf.* Ulbrich



Figure 12.2: Head of a goddess with vegetal crown (Photo by the author).

2010, 182, fig. 9:6; Hermary 1989, 406–410, particularly nos. 823, 826, 834). Female figures with either a cylindrical or kalathos-shaped vegetal crown of leaves and flowers, some additionally decorated with divine symbols or animals, are well attested by small to up to life-size or even colossal votive sculptures and terracottas dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries from the 6th to the 4th century BC (on the type see Ulbrich 2010, 181–184, fig. 182; 2008, 85–89, pl. 18; Hermary 1989, 398–410 with figures and further references). All epigraphically identified sanctuaries, for which this type is attested, are attributed to Cypriot Aphrodite or her Phoenician counterpart in Kition or Lapithos, Astarte (*cf.* Ulbrich 2008, 547–548, tab. 10). This suggests that most of such votive-figures can be identified with the “Great Goddess of Cyprus” or Cypriot Aphrodite herself, or at least her priestess (*cf.* also

J. Karageorghis 2005, 177–178, figs. 100–202, 206, figs. 239–240; Karageorghis 1998, 201–210, figs. 150–152, 154–158).

Such interpretation is corroborated further by divine symbols on some of the crowns, as well as the appearance of heads of such figures on Cypriot coins, invariably depicting deities or divine and royal symbols (Ulbrich 2008, 42–47; Karageorghis 1998, 136–139 with figures). Examples include coins from Paphos, home of Aphrodite’s most famous sanctuary in the ancient world, and Salamis (Hill 1904, 44, no. 47, pl. 8:9; Karageorghis 1998, 138, no. 84a-b). Even more compelling is a limestone sculpture of Aphrodite with vegetal crown and winged Eros on her arm from one of the sanctuaries around Golgoi (Ulbrich 2010, 190, 192, fig. 9:9; Karageorghis 1998, 207, fig. 154). The majority of the figures with vegetal crowns, including the earliest and most elaborate, come from cult-sites in the fertile Mesaoria plain, mostly from extra-urban *temene* in the territories of Idalion, Golgoi and Salamis (Ulbrich 2008, 88–89, 547–548, tab. 10). The vegetal crown depicts the goddess as a deity of vegetal fertility (Ulbrich 2010, 181–184) which is also poetically reflected in Hesiod’s *Theogonia*, 195–197. It narrates that grass started to grow rapidly under the goddess’ feet when she first set foot on the island of Cyprus,



Figure 12.3: Head of a goddess with turreted crown (Photo by the author).

and was greeted and adorned with flowers by the *horai*, the “seasons”. The dedication of such a figure at Maroni-*Vournes* in the 5th century BC and the fact that it had been kept within the sanctuary precinct until its abandonment at the end of the 3rd century BC suggests that Cypriot Aphrodite was worshipped there as goddess of vegetal fertility.

This suggestion is strengthened by the find of a later, well attested image-type of Cypriot Aphrodite, represented by just one small 3rd-century BC head of a limestone statuette: the goddess with turreted or mural crown and veil (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 11) (*Fig. 12.3*). The facial features and crown of this fragmentary limestone statuette are again rather stylised or “impressionistic”, but typical for the period and its size (*cf.* Hermary 1989, 418, no. 847, 437, no. 901). This iconographic type was created in Cyprus in the late 5th

century BC as a variation of the goddess with vegetal crown, and was dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries far into the Hellenistic period (for this type see Ulbrich 2010, 188, fig. 9:8, 192; 2008, 95–96, pl. 22; Hermary 1982, 169–173, pl. XXXVII; 1989, 416–418, figs. 843–848; Monloup 1994, 32; Papageorgiou 1997, 69–70, 73–76, 140–143, 158–160, including figures). In the 4th century BC, this image-type of Cypriot Aphrodite is attested on coins struck at Salamis and Paphos, depicting the goddess with either a combined vegetal and turreted crown or with a mural crown (Hermary 1982, pl. XXXVII:3; Karageorghis 1998, 141–143, figs. 88b, 93a). Again, epigraphically identified sanctuaries, which yielded figures with turreted crowns, were invariably dedicated to Cypriot Aphrodite (*cf.* Ulbrich 2008, 522–523, tab. 15), thus suggesting that these sculptures represented Cypriot Aphrodite herself (*cf.* J. Karageorghis 2005, 103, fig. 99, 220, figs. 322–324; Karageorghis 1998, 210–211, figs. 159–160). This is supported by a Hellenistic sculpture with turreted crown from the epigraphically identified sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria at Amathous which carries a dove, the sacred animal of Aphrodite (J. Karageorghis 2005, 103, fig. 99; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 415–417; Delivorrias 1984, 4 with reference to Sappho). The turreted crown, which was known in the Near East and Anatolia already since the 2nd millennium BC (Metzler 1994), appears in Cypriot divine imagery before it is attested elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (*e.g.* the famous Tyche from Antioch). The mural crown characterises the deity as a strong invincible city-goddess in the broadest sense, who protected and blessed the city or, in the case of rural Maroni, the local community.



Figure 12.4: Statuette of Cypriot Pan/Opaon Melanthios (Photo by the author).

Also in the 3rd century BC, other deity statuettes were dedicated at Maroni-Vournes. Two limestone statuettes were found representing a naked young man with long hair, goat ears, goat horns right on top of his head, and a Pan-flute or *syrinx* in his left hand, his cloak covering only his shoulders and back (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 9; cf. Hermary 1989, 312–314, figs. 621–625; Flourentzos 1989, pls. XXIV–XXIX; Karageorghis 1998, 192–194, figs. 140–142) (Fig. 12.4). He can be identified as Cypriot Pan or Apollon/Opaon Melanthios, the “Opaon” denoting Greek “o’ pá-on” (herdsman, pastor), which is the origin of the name of the Greek god Pan (Karageorghis 1998, 192; Flourentzos 1989, 121; Hermary 1989, 311; 1994, 54–55; Boardman 1997, 923; Bennett 1980, 354–355; 441–446). This image type, exclusively rendered in limestone, is not attested in Cyprus before the very end of the 4th century BC or the beginning of the Hellenistic period, which might indicate a link with the establishment of Ptolemaic rule and the associated surge of hellenisation of the island (Karageorghis 1998, 193; Hermary 1989, 313).

Such statuettes were found in various sanctuaries, mostly extra-urban or rural. Examples come from the *temenos* at Vavla-Kapsalaes, c. 18km northeast of Maroni on a high mountain ridge in the lower Troodos mountains (Ulbrich 2008, 281–282 [AM 17]; Morden and Todd 1994, pl. 15:c), the peri-urban site of Voni, c. 4km southwest of ancient Chytroi (Ulbrich 2008, 289–290 [CHY 5], pl. 24:10; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. 42:5), Golgoi-Agios Photios (Ulbrich 2008, 299 [GO 3]; Cesnola 1885, pl. CXIX, nos. 856–868; Counts 2008, 22, fig. 11), Petrofani (also known as Athienou)-Malloura (Ulbrich 2008, 303 [GO 6]; Tomazou *et al.* 1998, 378; Counts 2004, 181, including note 30), the Apollon/Reschef sanctuary in the city-kingdom of Idalion (Ulbrich 2008, 319–321 [ID 4]; Senff 1993, pl. 49:d-f), and the 6km distant peri-urban *temenos* of Potamia-Ellines (Ulbrich 2008, 327–328 [ID 16]; Karageorghis 1979, pl. XLIV:2, 4, 12, 42, 83, 23, 48, 148). They are also attested at a *temenos* at Pyla-Stavros (Ulbrich 2008, 357–358 [KI 13]; Hermary 1989, 311, no. 619, 313, no.

622) and at Lefkonoiko (Ulbrich 2008, 433–434 [SA 12]; Myres 1946, 65, nos. 370–374, pl. 19 lower photograph). In the sanctuaries where the male deity who received such “Pan”-votive figures is identified by dedicatory inscriptions, the god is invariably “Apollon”, like at Voni, Chytroi, Agios Photios, Idalion or Pyla, or his Phoenician counterpart “Reschef” at Idalion, but not before the end of the 5th or even the 4th century BC (*cf.* Ulbrich 2008, 502–504, tab. 2:b). All these sanctuaries yielded other, older and contemporary, male deity images which most probably represented the same local god (“Apollon”). These other images are (*cf.* Counts 2004, 180–182, 187, tab. 1):

1. “Zeus Ammon” or “Baal Hammon”, first ram-headed, then with ram-horns on a human head, and often seated on a throne flanked by rams, or as a figure riding a ram functioning as a stand for the bowl of a thymiaterion (incense burner) dedicated from the 6th century BC until the beginning of the Hellenistic period (*cf.* Sophocleous 1985, 58–69, pls. XIII–XVI:1; Hermary 1989, 305–310 nos. 608–618; Counts 2004, 178–181, 189, figs. 2–3; Counts 2008, 19–21 fig. 10).
2. Club-wielding or club-holding “Herakles-Melqart”, “Cypriot Herakles” or the “Master of the Lion” (Counts 2008, 20, tab. 1) from the later 6th to the 4th century BC (Sophocleous 1985, 28–56, pls. V:3–IX; Hermary 1989, 299–304, nos. 597–607; Counts 2004, 180, 190, fig. 5).
3. Long-haired beardless Apollon from the 5th century BC onwards (Sophocleous 1985, 156; Hermary 1989, 315–319, nos. 627–630; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. XLII:1).

It is the first of these types which, through its ram association, is iconographically and iconologically more closely connected with the Pan-statuettes and their goat iconography, which obviously replaced the “ram-god” at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (*cf.* Hermary 1989, 305; Counts 2004, 180–181; 2008, 19–22, figs. 10–11). Cults of Zeus and his Phoenician counterpart Baal are epigraphically attested in Cyprus and, like Apollon and Reschef (see above), they were identified with the Cypriot “grand dieu” as counterpart of Cypriot Aphrodite (Bennett 1980, 453, 454, 480; Sophocleous 1985, 26–28, 156). Zeus in Greece and Baal in Phoenicia functioned, among other things, as weather gods. As such, through the rain-dependent fertility of the pastures, they were highly significant for the survival of livestock (*cf.* Sophocleous 1985, 26; Röllig 1992, 55; Dils 1992, 500–501; Lipinski 1992, 57–58). Livestock in Cyprus consisted mostly of sheep and goats which also were the predominant sacrificial animals, *e.g.* for Cypriot Aphrodite in Amathous (*cf.* Hermary and Columeau 2006, 167–181). The function of the Great

Cypriot god as “pastoral god” or shepherd god (Counts 2004, 183: “divine shepherd”), who granted the survival and fertility of livestock, is visualised equally by the older and the newer image with ram- or goat-iconography, “Zeus Amon/Baal Hammon” (*cf.* Bennett 1980, 470–471) as well as “Cypriot Pan”. Both depict the same god and do not mark a change of cult or deity worshipped through their dedication as already argued above. At Maroni, this Cypriot god is exclusively attested by the “Pan”-imagery, and obviously functioned primarily as fertility god of livestock and pasture, an appropriate *parhedros* of Cypriot Aphrodite as vegetation goddess in this rural area.

There is no archaeological, epigraphic or literary evidence from Greek or Cypriot sanctuaries demonstrating that one god worshipped at any given site was essentially replaced by a different one; however, another god or goddess could join the original deity at a later point. The iconography of the few probably Archaic terracottas from Maroni is rather inconclusive as to the identity of the deity or deities worshipped here from the foundation of the sanctuary onwards, at about 750 BC. However, a number of Archaic male votaries, a centaur (see below) and animal figurines that were excavated at Maroni seem to point to a male pastoral fertility god, which was eventually depicted as Cypriot Pan in the 3rd century BC. However, at least from the 5th century BC onwards, Cypriot Aphrodite was worshipped here as his female *parhedros* as evidenced from the head with vegetal crown. Together, this divine couple granted the fertility of land, vegetation and livestock, all of which constituted the existential basis for the prosperity of the rural community at ancient Maroni. In this function, both deities also acted as city- or village-gods in the broader sense, visualised by the latest image-type of the goddess wearing a mural crown.

Centaur

Among the Archaic terracottas from Maroni-Vournes is a piece which explicitly refers to the male god worshipped here: It is a life-size humanoid head, moulded fully in the round, with rather distorted features, a wide and somewhat angular face with a wide open mouth, and traces of a bump on the left corner of his forehead which can be identified as a broken off bull-horn (Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 7) (*Fig. 12.5*). It can be identified as an image of a Cypriot “centaur”, depicted mostly with a bull-horned head and upper body of a human figure on a quadruped’s (bull or horse) body. This type is attested by much smaller terracotta figurines (*cf.* Karageorghis 1996, 1–9, figs. 1–6, pls. I–VI, particularly 7, figs. 4–5 and pl. III:3 and V:3; Monloup 1984, 107–110, no. 438 and fig. 7). From Cyprus, we also know depictions of humans with bull-masks, but these are invariably depicted with a bovine and not a human face (*cf.* Hermary 1989, 291, no. 588; 2000, 133, no. 877, pl. 71; Karageorghis 1995, pl. XXVII:8–XXVIII:3).



Figure 12.5: Head of a centaur
(Photo by the author).

Bulls and bull-figurines are of great significance in Cypriot cult already from the Middle Bronze Age, as some sanctuary models from a tomb at Kotchati show (Karageorghis 1991, 142–143, pl. CII:2-CIII:4). Bull cult was also important during the LBA (*cf.* Webb 1999, 216–219; Karageorghis 1993a, 35–43, pls. XXI–XXII). Even deity-figures had horns or horned helmets, such as the Horned God or the Ingot God from Enkomi (*cf.* Karageorghis 1998, 30–34, figs. 7–8; Webb 1999, 223–228). In the Geometric and Archaic periods, bull-figurines, as well as centaurs, were common votive-figurines, predominantly in sanctuaries of male deities, such as at Ayia Irini, Meniko and Kourion (*cf.* Karageorghis 1993a, 67–69, 71–73, pls. XXIX–XXXI, 92–94, pls. XLI–XLII; 1996, 1–9, pls. I–VI (centaurs), 29–35, pls. XV–XX). Therefore, the monumental Cypriot centaur-figure from Maroni-*Vournes*, unique in its size, seems to explicitly refer to the male fertility god worshipped there, which was later depicted as a shepherd-god in the image of Pan (see above). In fact, the cultic meaning of this centaur-figure might be the very reason why it was kept, apparently for centuries, in the sanctuary precinct until its final abandonment, and was excavated there 2000 years later.

Votaries

The other fragmentary anthropomorphic votive-figures of Maroni-*Vournes* represent male as well as female votaries. In view of the gender-related votive-practice addressed above, this is just another indication for the worship of a divine couple at Maroni-*Vournes*. Some of the votaries carry offerings which further elucidate the identity and various aspects of the gods worshipped through the dedication of such figures. This applies also to the animal-figures dedicated to the deities.

The terracotta votaries, most of them male, do not carry votive gifts, as far as they are preserved. They range from the small handmade figurines in snowman technique (one depicted with beard and possibly a peaked helmet or cap), to almost life-size wheel- and handmade figures, all with some kind of fillet (Ulbrich forthcoming, figs. 5–6). A wheelmade tubular body is marked as female by the indication of the breasts (*cf.* bodies in Karageorghis 1993b, LIV:3, LIX:2, LX:1), while a mould-made head, with somewhat African features, on a kind of socket must have been inserted in such a tubular body, albeit smaller (Cadogan 1986, 44, pl. IX:4). The

only late and mould-made figurine depicts a small female votary of the late 4th century BC (*cf.* J. Karageorghis 2005, 195, figs. 248–249 for dress and hairstyle).

Male votaries in limestone from *Vournes* are all beardless and rather youthful and are mostly depicted wearing a wreath of leaves, some of the examples as big as a low crown (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. XXII:7), probably visualising the vegetation aspect of the god. As per the gender related votive-practice in Cyprus, a male god generally received images of male votaries (see above). Such figures were dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries from the 6th century BC until the end of the Hellenistic period (Hermay 1989, 112, examples in 113–218, nos. 219–441). Other male votaries wear the Macedonian *kausia* (*Fig. 12.6*), which was fashionable in Cypriot votive-sculpture since Cyprus was submitted to Alexander the Great and continued until the end of the 3rd century BC. This headdress was often, but not exclusively, worn by the so-called “temple-boys”, representing crouching male infants (Hermay 1989, 236–243, figs. 476–491).

All male votaries carry a variety of votive gifts, for example a bird, identified as a duck or a goose, judging by its shape (*Fig. 12.6*). The latter bird is one of Aphrodite’s sacred animals (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 417; Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4, 96–98, nos. 905–915, pls. 89–90). Another votary probably carries a bird, possibly a dove, judging by its upturned wing (*Fig. 12.7*). The dove is a well attested offering in Cypriot votive sculpture from the 5th century BC onwards (*e.g.* Karageorghis 2000, 209, no. 335). Alternatively, this figurine could be depicted carrying a ram’s head, which would constitute a rather unique representation. In any case, this detail of the statuette is too worn to securely identify it. A dove would refer to Aphrodite at Maroni, the dove being one of her sacred animals and an appropriate gift to the goddess (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 415–417; see Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4 for the literary and epigraphic evidence). A ram’s head could be interpreted as part of such an animal sacrifice or as a votive gift which could be associated with both deities at Maroni: Aphrodite could be associated with rams, sheep and goats (Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 98–100, nos. 947–976, pls. 93–95; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 415), as she received not only figurines but real sacrifices of sheep and goats in her sanctuaries in Greece as well as in Cyprus, for example in her sanctuary at Amathous (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 384–388; Hermay and Columbeau 2006, 167–181 with tables and graphs). However, the ram-head could equally well refer to the pastoral god worshipped at Maroni in the Cypriot “Pan”-image with goat’s ears and horns (*Fig. 12.3*). In the case of Maroni this is even more likely. In fact, a Pan-statuettes from Pyla depicts the god carrying a ram’s head himself (Hermay 1989, 311, no. 619; Karageorghis 1998, 193, fig. 141).



Figure 12.6 (left): Male votary with duck or goose (Photo by the author).

Figure 12.7 (right): Male votary with ram's head (or dove) in his left, and a bread-roll in his right hand (Drawing by Clara Vassitsek).

Other votive gifts include an ear of wheat and a small round or elliptical cushion-like object with rounded edges (*e.g.* Fig. 12.7 right hand). In publications on Cypriot stone sculptures, such objects are either completely ignored (*cf.* Karageorghis 2000, 230, no. 362 depicted in the left hand of a temple boy) or just vaguely described as “round-shaped” or “disc-shaped” objects (*cf.* Karageorghis 2002, 216–216, nos. 280–281, depicted in the left or right hand of two temple boys). Because of their shape, these objects cannot be identified with a pyxis, which is clearly shown as a cylindrical object with a disc-shaped lid, larger than the body, and carried more upright and in front of the votary (*cf.* Karageorghis 2000, 246–247, no. 402). The cushion-like objects carried by some of the Maroni votaries look, in shape and size, rather like the small bread-rolls or cakes known in Cypriot coroplastic art. I would consider the latter suggestion more viable for their identification (*cf.* Karageorghis 2006, 121–129, figs. 104–106, and figs. 110–



Figure 12.8 (left): Female votary with partridge (Photo by the author).
Figure 12.9 (right): Female votary touching her left breast (Photo by the author).

116). The ear of wheat (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. XXII.8) and such possible bread-rolls or cakes, unambiguously refer to the fertility of the arable land. Such offerings point to the agricultural aspect of the gods of Maroni, mostly of the goddess herself, who was characterised as a vegetation goddess, judging by the vegetal crown in one of her two images at Maroni. Both the wheat and the (possible) bread link Cypriot Aphrodite closely to Greek Demeter as goddess of agriculture, who is often presented with an ear of wheat (Beschi 1988, 844–847, *e.g.* 850–851, nos. 31 and 34, see images in 1988-II, 564–565, 858, no. 121). However, the cult of Demeter is not securely epigraphically attested in Cyprus before the 3rd century BC (Ulbrich 2008, 168–172; Bennett 1980, 380–384).

The majority of the female votary-figures in stone, dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, do not carry any votive-gifts. Many are clothed in long garments with their mantle or a veil pulled over their hair (*cf.* heads in Cadogan 1983, 156–157, pl. XX:5). One of them, however, carries a bird which, by the shape of body and beak could be identified as a partridge (*Fig. 12.8*). This bird is most probably a gift or even a sacrifice for the Kypris of Maroni, as Aphrodite is associated with various birds (Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 444–445, Sophocles

fragment 941). A partridge is among the sacrificial animals attested in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria on the acropolis of Amathous (Hermay and Coloumeau 2006, 167, tab. 7).

Additionally, two female figures from Maroni of the 3rd century BC seem to be touching their breasts with one hand (*Fig. 12.9*), thereby imitating the gesture of some Astarte figurines (*cf.* J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. XXXIV-XXXVII:3). These two figures are rather exceptional, as such Astarte figurines are usually rendered in terracotta and in their majority they are shown supporting both breasts (J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. I-XIX), as can be seen in older votary-figures from a *temenos* of Cypriot Aphrodite at Achna (J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. XII-XVIII and XXXVI; 2005, 208 figs. 284–290). Naked Near Eastern type Astarte-figurines and their partly clothed Cypriot variants were found in numerous sanctuaries of Cypriot Aphrodite and her Phoenician counterpart Astarte. They represent yet another type of deity image, in use since the 7th century BC, and depict the goddess as one of female sexuality and fertility (for the type see J. Karageorghis 1999; Ulbrich 2010, 175–177, fig. 9.2; 2008, 70–77, 512–514, tab. 6, pls. 11–12). With their gesture, these two votaries directly address that specific characteristic of the goddess at Maroni.

Animals

Among the animal figures dedicated at Maroni are quadrupeds which, due to their fragmentary preservation and their general crude style could depict horses, donkeys, bovines, goats or sheep (*cf.* animal figurines in Karageorghis 1996, 23–39, pls. XI-XIV, XIX-XXII). However, there are two fragments of a cloven-hoofed animal, which excludes a horse, but suggests a rather big bull-figurine, with a hollow and wheelmade body. Several such bull-figurines were found for example in the sanctuaries of Agia Irini and Potamos tou Kambou near Soloi, both dedicated to a male fertility god (*cf.* Karageorghis 1996, 29–33, pls. XV-XVII *passim*). Bovines, goats and sheep were suitable sacrifices for both deities worshipped at Maroni-*Vournes*, Cypriot Aphrodite and Apollon or Opaon Melanthios. All these animals constituted the vast majority of the animals sacrificed to Aphrodite Kypria in her sanctuary on the acropolis of Amathous according to the faunal evidence from the site (Hermay and Coloumeau 2006, 167, tab. 7, 170–174 including tables and graphs).

Among the late Classical or Hellenistic terracottas are a rooster or hen (*Fig. 12.10*), and a pig or piglet (Cadogan 1983, 156, pl. XXII:4; *cf.* Karageorghis 1996, 39–40). Both are possible animals for sacrifice. A terracotta votive relief from Locri shows a female votary offering a rooster to Aphrodite, who is depicted with a goose or swan (Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 89, nos. 810, pl. 81). Although the pig is occasionally sacrificed to Aphrodite (Delivorrias *et al.*, 1984, 4 with



Figure 12.10 (left): Head of a rooster, front view, double crest (Drawing by Clara Vasišek).

Figure 12.11 (right): Turtle/Tortoise, head broken off (Photo by the author).

reference to Kallimachos, fragment 200a), in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Kypria at Amathous only one pig-sacrifice is attested (Hermay and Columbeau 2006, 170, tab. 11, 178), which might explicitly refer to Demeter who received such animals as a regular sacrifice and is sometimes depicted carrying a piglet (*cf.* Cadogan 1983, 156; Beschi 1988, 845–846, examples 847, nos. 105–106, 864, fig. 214). Like for Demeter in Greece, patronage of agriculture is one, if not the primary, function of Cypriot Aphrodite at Maroni, as shown by the wheat-ears depicted as votive-gifts in votive-sculpture (see above). The goddess of Maroni-*Vournes* might even have been identified with Demeter during the 3rd century BC. Such identification is actually attested epigraphically in the sanctuary of Apollon and Aphrodite at Golgoi-*Agios Photios* in the 3rd century BC (Ulbrich 2008, 169, 297–301, 499, tab. 2:a).

However, a tortoise or a turtle, made of marble in the 3rd century BC and dedicated at Maroni (*Fig. 12.11*), would rather refer to Aphrodite, being one of her sacred animals (Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 4; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 234–236). An alphabetic Greek, thus Hellenistic or Roman, dedicatory inscription to Aphrodite from her famous sanctuary in Paphos has a tortoise or turtle carved on top (Gardner *et al.* 1888, 253, no. 117), but dedications of such figures were by no means exclusive for Aphrodite, and their interpretation seems completely uncertain and ambiguous (Bevan 1988, 1–6). If the figure from Maroni indeed represents a turtle, this sea-animal would refer to Aphrodite as a goddess of the sea. After all, she was not only born from the sky and rose from the sea according to Hesiod (*Theogonia*, 176–188) but was worshipped as a goddess of seafaring (“*euploia*” and “*eleémon*”) as well (Ulbrich 2008, 105–106;



Figure 12.12: Female lyre-player with vegetal crown (Photo by the author).

Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 433–439; J. Karageorghis 2005, 224). The shore is just 500m away from Maroni-*Vournes* (cf. map in Ulbrich forthcoming, fig. 1).

Cult at Maroni must have included animal sacrifice as well as offerings of fruit, ears of wheat and possibly bread. The large corpus of pottery from Maroni – mostly bowls, but also some cooking ware – suggests ritual drinking and dining (Ulbrich forthcoming). But there was also music, attested by the fragment of a tambourine player and two statuettes of female lyre-players. One of them even seems to wear a vegetal or turreted crown, like the goddess for whom she performs (*Fig. 12.12*) (Ulbrich, forthcoming, fig. 8; cf. Hermay 1989, 437, nos. 899 and 901). The ash-shovels found at Maroni could suggest either burnt sacrifice, for which there is, however, no further evidence, or incense-burning. Bones and other organic material from the site still await investigation, but most of the material comes from LBA contexts.

Conclusions

Despite the relatively small number of votive-figures from Maroni-*Vournes*, the range of their iconography identifies the deity or deities worshipped at this site as a divine couple: Cypriot Aphrodite and her male counterpart Apollon. The gods of Maroni were venerated as complementary fertility deities in the broadest sense, but most specifically of arable land, pasture and livestock. As such they granted the prosperity of the rural community or communities living in eye-sight and walking distance around the little knoll of *Vournes*, beside a small stream in this still fertile land, sloping down to the sea, not 500m away.

The worship of Cypriot Aphrodite and Cypriot Apollon at this remote place near the territorial border of the city-kingdom of Amathous towards Kition lasted uninterruptedly – though with a few changes in the iconographic repertoire – from the foundation of the *temenos* at about 750 BC until its abandonment in the late 3rd century BC, long after the final abolishment of the city-kingdoms by Ptolemaic rule in 294 BC (Maier 1994, 333–334).

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Notes

- 1 The letters in brackets refer to the structures as indicated in Fig. 12.1. For a description see Ulbrich forthcoming.
- 2 According to Jan Driessen, who is studying the Bronze Age architecture for the final publication, a porch along the southwest side of the court is more likely than a porch in front of the two backrooms as assumed in Ulbrich, forthcoming. Personal communication with Jan Driessen.

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FRAGRANT COPYING? MYCENAEAN PERFUMED OIL AND THE ROLE OF CYPRUS

Lesley Bushnell

Introduction

Perfumed oil was a popular commodity throughout the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (LBA). It is attested in the archaeological record, in figural representations and in contemporary textual references. One of the most ubiquitous archaeological artefacts which support the use of perfumed oil is the juglet. The term “juglet” is applied to a range of small closed ceramic forms such as small jugs, flasks and bottles that have narrow necks to restrict the flow of liquids. Thus, their contents were a precious commodity, such as perfumed oil, intended to be dispensed in small, controllable quantities (Maguire 1995, 55). In the LBA, Linear B archives from the Mycenaean palaces and nearby settlement contexts have suggested the possibility of dedicated perfume industries, as for example, at Pylos.

At the same time the large quantities of Mycenaean pottery found beyond the Aegean, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean, has led to the speculation that palatial production of perfumed oil was primarily for export trade or gift exchange with other polities (Foster 1977; Hamilakis 1996; Shelmerdine 1985), although Bennet (2008) has argued that the production process was independent of palatial control. Active marketing by Mycenaean producers to particular Levantine customers has even been proposed (Dabney 2007, 191–192). However, I believe that the combined interest generated by the Linear B texts and by the widespread distribution of Mycenaean pottery abroad has led to an exaggerated view of the role of the Aegean as producers of perfumed oil. The following discussion emphasises that perfumed-oil manufacture and consumption was almost certainly not a Bronze Age Aegean tradition but one probably introduced as a direct result of eastern Mediterranean exchanges, with Cypriot traders as the likely conduit.

The ideological role of perfumed oil in the eastern Mediterranean

In the eastern Mediterranean, the juglet commodities were used as early as the Early Bronze Age (EBA), where it would seem they fulfilled similar ideological roles across several different regions, and were particularly important as components of funerary assemblages (Baker 2006; Bietak 1997; Gittlen 1981; Guy 1938; Keswani 2004). In considering the use of such products I found it helpful to refer to major theoretical works by Douglas and Isherwood (1979) and Appadurai (1986) that linked the consumption of goods to the communication of critical social messages. Social identities, boundaries and shared meanings can be defined and reproduced through the consumption of goods. Applying such theory to ancient burial practices, the deposition of juglets as part of the funeral kit displayed conformity to established social customs and reproduced group identities. Production met the consumption requirements and hence preserved the *status quo*. Until the end of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA), juglets found in most tombs across the eastern Mediterranean were locally made. For example, in the southern Levant, standard burial deposits included the local cylindrical or piriform red slipped and burnished juglets and dipper juglets (Petrie 1931; 1932; 1933; 1934), trefoil-mouth juglets were preferred in Syria, Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets were found in Egyptian graves (Kaplan 1980) and Red and Black Slip juglets or White Painted juglets were consumed in different areas of Cyprus (Åström 1972).

Douglas and Isherwood underlined (1979, 62–63, 83–85) the importance of access to goods (together with their meanings) as a mark of relative rank and value. In this light, while local juglets and their contents may have been regarded as standard possessions, exotic foreign juglets might have carried greater prestige. Certainly by the end of the MBA, there was some inter-regional exchange of juglets and it seems that highly patterned imports were particularly favoured over the plain local products. The Cypriot White Painted juglets, for example, which were handmade and hand painted were popular in the southern Levant and Egypt (Johnson 1982; Maguire 2009). What was the attraction? Were the imported products actually superior? Or did the packaging make them seem more desirable? I think that the foreign products stood out in the funeral assemblage as innovative in a very traditional arena; they may have been used as status markers declaring the consumers to be people who had impressive access to foreign imports for use during the funerary ceremony or to leave with their dead kin. When consumption of goods is used like this in the production of identities, it can be referred to as “productive consumption” (Jansson 2002). Knowledge of the way commodities are used in constructing meaning or identity can be manipulated by producers in designing products which help to create or reinforce social meanings (Appadurai 1986, 42–43). This in turn generates demand. In the modern world,

producers can react to consumption practices with niche marketing, targeted selling and commodity branding. I think productive consumption may have been responsible for the myriad new Cypriot juglet products which began to appear at the start of the Late Cypriot (LC) period. Indeed, there even appears to have been some regional competition in Cyprus in designing these new commodities.

Base Ring juglets are the best known of these initially regional Cypriot products, not least for their possible association with opium (Merrillees 1962). They were fine-walled and hard-baked, with a metallic finish and applied decoration. Whether their widespread and long-lasting popularity was due to their visual distinction, their contents, or both, they were highly successful, not only in Cyprus where they were made but also in the Levant and Egypt (Gittlen 1977; Merrillees 1968). Other new juglet forms from LC IA included the short-lived Black Lustrous Wheelmade juglets which were popular in Palestine (especially at Megiddo, Tell el-‘Ajjull and Lachish), in Egypt (especially in the Memphis-Faiyum region) and as far south as Nubia (Hörburger 2007; Oren 1969; Yannai 2007). White Shaved juglets seem to have been designed exclusively for Palestinian consumers based as they were on a traditional and highly popular southern Levantine shape, the dipper juglet. They were also possibly imitative of southern Levantine stone vessels, especially the gypsum juglets that were blade- and/or chisel-carved and hence had similar surface finishes to White Shaved pottery (Bevan 2007, 105–110, 153). Red Lustrous Wheelmade (RLWM) spindle bottles were also produced from the end of LC IA, and although there is some debate over their origin, I follow Eriksson (1993, 57–58) who argues convincingly for a Cypriot provenance. Their distinctive forms and highly polished finishes were excellent goods for signalling status. They were also widely imitated, another indicator of their prestige value. The first RLWM containers were found primarily in Egypt and may have represented another example of targeted distribution. The distribution of these precious commodities was not merely coincidental to other trade such as copper; it was pro-active and directed. Such trading patterns demonstrate targeted marketing.

At the start of the LBA, the Cypriot production, consumption and distribution patterns of juglet commodities are in marked contrast to those in the Mycenaean homeland where perfumed-oil use may not have been a tradition.

Perfumed oil may not have been a Mycenaean tradition

In early Mycenaean communities of Late Helladic (LH) I-III A:1, juglets were not a feature of burial practices. The surprise in examining the ceramic repertoire for the period is the dearth of



Figure 13.1: Stirrup jar FS 170 > 20cm in height (Photo by the author, with permission by the British Museum).



Figure 13.2: Stirrup jar FS 171 c. 11cm in height (Photo by the author, with permission by the British Museum).

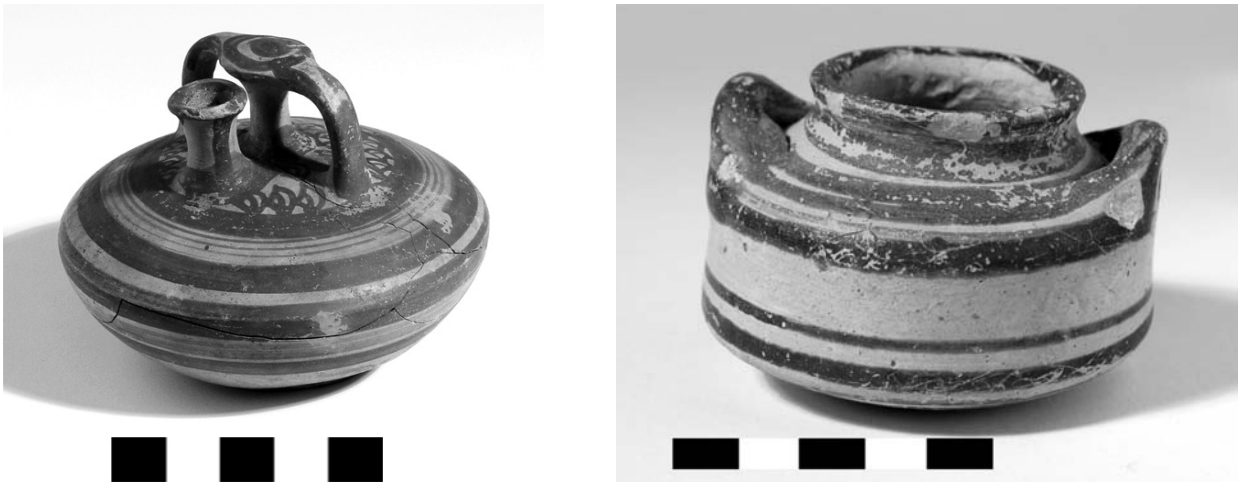


Figure 13.3 (left): Stirrup jar FS 178, 6–11 cm in height (Photo by the author, with permission by the British Museum).

Figure 13.4 (right): Alabastron FS 85 or FS 94 (Photo by the author, with permission by the British Museum).

Domestic contexts		
Date	Dominant	Common
LH I	Vapheio cup	piriform jar, rounded cup
LH IIA	goblet	alabastron, squat jar, Vapheio cup
LH IIB	goblet	alabastron, Vapheio cup
LH IIIA:1	goblet	piriform jar, alabastron, krater, cup
LH IIIA:2	kylix	piriform jar, stirrup jar, stemmed bowl
LH IIIB	deep bowl	piriform jar, stirrup jar, kylix
LH IIIC	deep bowl	amphoriskos, stirrup jar
Funerary contexts		
Date	Dominant	Common
LH I	piriform jar, alabastron	squat jug
LH IIA	alabastron, squat jug	piriform jar
LH IIB	alabastron	ring-handled cup
LH IIIA:1	piriform jar, alabastron	jugs, kylix
LH IIIA:2	piriform jar, stirrup jar	alabastron, jugs, high-handed kylix
LH IIIB	stirrup jar	piriform jar, alabastron, jugs, high-handed kylix
LH IIIC	stirrup jar, amphoriskos	lekythos, jugs, deep bowl, feeding bottle

Figure 13.5: The consumption of Mycenaean pottery forms in Late Helladic Greece (after Mountjoy 1993, 120, 127).

small, narrow-necked containers. At this time, the small stirrup jar, which may be considered as a functional equivalent of the juglet, did not exist on the mainland. Minoan Crete had introduced the stirrup jar in Middle Minoan (MM) III and this shape was introduced on the mainland, firstly as the very short-lived LH IIA Palatial style (FS 169) and later in LH IIIA:2 as the plainer storage jar (FS 170 or FS 164). These vessels were quite large and miniaturisation did not occur until later (*Fig. 13.1-3*).¹ A very few MM III/Late Minoan IA and Late Cycladic I small stirrup jars have been attested on Crete and the Cyclades (Haskell 1985, 224, 226–229). Miniature Chamaizi jugs also existed on Protopalatial Crete although these were relatively thick-walled and wide-necked (Poursat and Knappett 2005, 83, pl. 36). Small Mycenaean fine-ware stirrup jars which eventually became so popular both in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean did not appear until LH IIIA:2. Instead, alabastra were traditional grave goods and the most frequent funerary deposit until the end of LH IIIA:1 (*Fig. 13.4*). After this time there was a change in popularity from the alabastra to the small stirrup jars as burial offerings (*Fig. 13.5*). Even in domestic contexts stirrup jars replaced alabastra.

Changes in preference from alabastra to stirrup jars suggest a change in consumption practices since the two vessel types probably had different contents. In this regard an important functional distinction has been made between the alabastra and stirrup jars with the former interpreted by Leonard as containers for thicker unguents that were extracted with the fingers or utensils. In contrast, he suggested that stirrup jars and flasks were better suited to storage, transportation and dispensing of thinner, liquid products (Leonard 1981, 91–96). These morphological and functional distinctions are supported by Linear B texts for products that are for smearing on (*we-a-re-pe*) or for outpouring (*po-ro-ko-wa*). There is also Linear B evidence that a distinction was made between oils and unguents in the use of the ideogram for oil (*OLE*), and word with corresponding ideogram for unguent (*ar-re-pa-zo-o*, *AREPA*). Although the latter is sometimes recorded as a liquid measure, as on document PY Un 6 and Fr 1198,² I agree with Shelmerdine that it could have referred to a product, which while thicker than oil, was not completely solid fat (Shelmerdine 1985, 17, fn. 26). In Pylos tablet Un 267 the perfume maker was referred to as an “unguent boiler” and there is no mention of oil in this list.

- .1 Thus Alxoitias gave
- .2 to Thyestes the unguent-boiler
- .3 aromatics for unguent
- .4 destined for boiling
- .5 coriander AROMATIC 576 l.
- .6 cyperus AROMATIC 576 l. 16 units
- .7 FRUITS 240 l. WINE 576 l. HONEY 58 l.
- .8 WOOL 6 kg MUST 58 l.

From this evidence, I would contend that perfumed creams were consumed by the Mycenaean population until the end of LH IIIA:1. Crucially, the stylistic and functional history of ceramic containers implies that Mycenaean communities had not started manufacturing the liquid contents of miniature stirrup jars, usually assumed to be perfumed oil, until after trading connections with the eastern Mediterranean had already become established. Certainly they had not started packaging and distributing such commodities in small amounts for individual consumption until the start of LH IIIA:2, when oil-based perfumes became the product of choice. They may have offered an improvement over unguents, which do need heavy perfuming and can become rancid, but they may also have represented an innovative commodity in a novel container that was part of a prestigious wave of international consumerism.

Trading patterns of Mycenaean pottery might support this view. During the 15th-14th centuries BC, the international trading arena had expanded and Mycenaean goods started to arrive in the eastern Mediterranean. The first LH I-LH IIA ceramic exports were thinly dispersed and mainly confined to coastal sites (Mountjoy 1993, 166–167). They included dinner vessels and semi-globular cups (van Wijngaarden 2002, 186). The increased quantity and wider distribution of LH IIB-LH IIIA:1 Mycenaean pottery indicates a period of exploration of trading opportunities. The exports at this time comprised mainly cups, bowls, jugs and alabastra (Cadogan 1973, 168; Jones and Catling 1986, 592–596). The presence of the latter provides a clue that perfumed unguents may have reached the eastern markets before perfumed oils. During the next period LH IIIA:2 and into LH IIIB:1, the Mycenaean trade in ceramics stepped up a gear. In the LH IIIA:2 period, Mycenaean pottery arrived in the eastern Mediterranean in such large quantities and with such specialised forms that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that they were part of planned trading missions, possibly under palatial control. The most frequent Mycenaean imports to Cyprus and the Levant changed to closed shapes and the stirrup jar entered the repertoire there at the same time as they became popular with the domestic consumers.

From this time onwards, some Mycenaean vessel shapes appear to have been especially commissioned for their eastern consumers since they were rare in Greece (Sherratt 1994, 36). The most renowned of these are the Pictorial Style amphoroid kraters often depicting chariots, but there were also cups, bowls and chalices which collectively have been interpreted as elite drinking sets since they were usually found in elite funerary or ceremonial contexts (Cadogan 2005, 318; Keswani 2004; Mountjoy 1993, 138; Sherratt 1994, 36). Flasks (FS 188–190) were probably also developed to appeal to the eastern Mediterranean market, since consumers there were already familiar with lentoid flasks made in the region. It is therefore worth considering

whether the first small stirrup jars (FS 171, FS 173 and FS 178) had originally been conceived as a special export commission designed for a growing sub-elite group³ already familiar with the commodity, but keen for the status associated with the exotic Mycenaean-ware containers. If so, they were also readily adopted by the domestic communities.

At first sight Crete seems to be a more logical choice for the conception of the Mycenaean perfumed-oil industry. The stirrup jar obviously originated there, so why not the contents also? Larger stirrup jars on Crete have been related to systematic production of olive oil, but most of the evidence for manufacture points to the post-palatial period (Hamilakis 1996, 23; Haskell 1985, 223–224). Furthermore, even on Crete small stirrup jars (i.e. those around 10–12cm in height and not including the larger FS 169) were very rare before LM IIIA, and there is little evidence for the earlier production of perfumed oil. On the other hand, perfumed unguents may have been produced in the MM period as suggested by organic residue analysis on some MM vessel sherds from the site of Chamalevri (c. 2160–2000 BC) which detected the presence of an iris plant component in a waxy, rather than oily, carrier (Beck, Stout and Lee 2008, 23–28). The Linear B texts from Knossos which refer to perfumed oil date from LM IIIA:2 to LM IIIB so while they pre-date the Pylos perfume tablets they do not help in establishing a lengthy precedent for Cretan manufacture of perfumed oil. This is in marked contrast to the juglet commodities which had been produced and consumed in the eastern Mediterranean since the EBA. Even if the idea for perfumed oil travelled from Crete to the Peloponnese, it may have first been inspired by contact with Cyprus for which there is evidence in LC IA.

Cypriot involvement in production and distribution of perfumed oil

In addition to the archaeological evidence already discussed, there is some documentary evidence for the presence of Cypriot traders in the eastern Mediterranean and for trade in Cypriot oil. In the Amarna letters, several documents (EA 34–37, 39, 40) refer to high-level trade between Egypt and Alashiya and some (EA 34 and 35) mention sweet oil specifically (Moran 1992, 105–113). Ugaritic documents (RS 18.42, 1–2; RS 20.168, 11 and 17) also record trade in oil between Ugarit and Cyprus. The former, dating to late 13th century BC, details a large quantity of oil (660 heavy measures) despatched to an Alashiyan individual named *Abrm* (Knapp 1996, 38).

That Cyprus was a distribution centre for Mycenaean pottery destined for the eastern Mediterranean has been the subject of discussion for some time (Cadogan 1973, 170; Hankey 1967). More recent analytical studies on the relative range and quantities of Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery at various sites in Cyprus and the Levant have, in the main, supported a down-

the-line trade model between the Aegean and the Levant via Cyprus, with directional links between Cypriot ports and specific destinations along the Levantine littoral (Artzy 2005; Bell 2005). In addition, many of the pots received an incised post-firing pot-mark, a particularly Cypriot habit, and some of the marks have been identified as specifically Cypro-Minoan symbols. The fact that some Mycenaean vessels in the Aegean have been found with such pot-marks suggests not only Cypriot handling, but further that a Cypriot or Mycenaean individual concerned with exports to Cyprus was active in the Aegean (Hirschfeld 1993, 313).

In some Mycenaean documents the Linear B term *ku-pi-ri-jo* may be interpreted as evidence of Cypriot involvement in perfumed oil manufacture in the Aegean. Meanings of *ku-pi-ri-jo* in relation to Cyprus rely on the association with the Homeric word for Cyprus, *Kupros*, even though the place-name *Kupros* has not been attested in Linear B documents (Bubenik 1974, 245). Parallel possibilities exist for Knossian texts referring to *a-ra-si-jo* or Alasios which would relate to the place-name Alašiya and this name has been attested in contemporary or earlier eastern texts which probably refer to Cyprus or a place in Cyprus (Bubenik 1974; Gallavotti 1976). Meanings of *ku-pi-ri-jo* have been much debated and there are several interpretations based on its grammatical form and its functional context. These include use as an ethnonym meaning “the Cypriot”, as a personal name “Kuprios”, as a professional title, or as an ethnic adjective standing for Cypriot or of Cypriot type (Bennett, Jr *et al.* 1989; Bubenik 1974; Godart 1968; Knapp 1996).

Particularly interesting is the number of times *ku-pi-ri-jo* appears in conjunction with Linear B words or signs which have affinities with oil and perfume manufacture or which have some links with trade (Bubenik 1974, 246–247; Foster 1977, 20–24). On several documents, the word *ku-pi-ri-jo* has been associated with disbursements of oil and aromatics which could have been used in the manufacture of perfumed oil (KN Fh 347, Fh 361, Fh 371, Fh 5246, Fh 5446, Fh 5447, Fp(2) 5472, Ga (1) 676, Ga (1) 677) or with vessels which might have been used in storing oil: namely *ka-ra-re-we*, possibly a Mycenaean name for stirrup jar (X468) and *ke* vessels, whose meaning is unknown (K(2) 773).

If *ku-pi-ri-jo* is taken to mean the ethnonym “the Cypriot”, then there are some interesting implications for these affinities. In the manufacture of perfume the implication is that an individual of Cypriot origin could have been overseeing Mycenaean perfumed-oil manufacture as, for example in some of the texts where “the Cypriot” received oil for boiling (Fh 361), aromatics MU (Fh 347.1, 371 or Fh 5452), coriander (Ga 676, Ga 677) and a range of other ingredients (Foster 1977, 29–32). A suggestion by Godart (1968, 64–70) that *ku-pi-ri-jo* in the

Knossos documents was a professional title adopted for perfume manufacturers is interesting in this light since it does link the craft with Cyprus. This is an attractive idea but it could not, for example, explain why *ku-pi-ri-jo* was also used in conjunction with wool production⁴ and bronze working as on the Pylos tablets Cn 131, Cn 719, Jn 320 and Un 443. On the other hand, the broader ethnic meaning would work for these and especially so for bronze-working considering that Cyprus was a source of copper.

Ku-pi-ro-jo or *ku-pi-ri-ja* has also been interpreted as an adjectival form meaning “Cypriot” or “of Cypriot type”, a term applied to commodities originating in or destined for Cyprus (Melena 1983, 202–205). As discussed above, where these were plausible perfume ingredients such as with Cypriot coriander or with Cypriot oil (Bubenik 1974, 246–247), there is still an implied connection between Cyprus and Mycenaean perfumed-oil manufacture. The possibility of *ku-pi-ri-jo* being translated as a type of spice or as “henna-perfumed” was suggested by Palmer (1963, 260) for the KN Fh series but this does not seem a plausible suggestion when it is found in combination with other aromatics or with bronze or sheep.

Ku-pi-ri-jo in the texts also has associations with trade; the word *o-no* interpreted as meaning benefit or purchase price, has frequently appeared alongside *ku-pi-ri-jo*. So, if the latter stands for the ethnic origin of the individual, then the implications are that “the Cypriots” could have been traders or middlemen. In one particular document (Un 443) this interpretation would mean that the Cypriot was paid in cloth or wool for some alum, of which Cyprus is a source (Gallavotti 1976, 52).

It should be noted that amongst Linear B scholars, the interpretation of *ku-pi-ri-jo* as an individual of Cypriot origin seems to be out of favour and this is due to some contextual problems for some of the texts. Two such citations (PY Cn 131.3; PY Cn 719.7) documented shepherds, actually looking after a number of sheep, as opposed to trading cloth (Bubenik 1974, 245). In such cases, it seems more plausible that *ku-pi-ri-jo* stood for a personal name where the context of the document indicated a function such as an administrative official or “collector”. An individual with the personal name of *Kuprios*, as suggested originally by Olivier (1967, 327) and supported by Knapp (1996, 53–57), might seem a more realistic translation than the ethnonym “the Cypriot”. It should be remembered that personal names could very easily have been given to individuals with connections with Cyprus, either in terms of origin or trade. Such interpretations allow for a wider usage of the term so that the appellation may have been applied to natives or foreigners who had dealings with Cyprus.

I agree with Bubenik (1974, 245) that different interpretations need not be mutually exclusive; different tablets need not have identical meanings and *ku-pi-ri-jo* may be a personal name in one and an ethnic derivation in another. The important point for this argument is that, with the exception of a few interpretations, texts indicate some kind of Cypriot involvement.

Since Cypriot juglets did not reach the Aegean in any quantity, an alternative to local imitation must be sought to account for the transmission of the idea of perfumed oil. This may have been executed via middle-men. The concept of independent entrepreneurs is not new, having been suggested by Manning and De Mita (1997, 114–115) and Sherratt and Sherratt (1998, 337) amongst others. Such people, who have been termed “trade facilitators”, would have been significant operators capable of mobilising sufficient production to meet export demand. They may have been foreigners rather than indigenous people and whilst they could have been the official diplomats involved in high-level international gift exchange of contemporary texts, this role would not necessarily have ruled out some additional lower-level wholesale trading. Such merchants or wholesalers could help to explain how the highly regionalised polities of MC III-LC I Cyprus were able to participate in the international arena and particularly how a diverse range of juglet commodities found selected markets. The term *rabisu* of Alašiya from Ugaritic text RS20.18 (Vincentelli 1976, 45) or from the Amarna letters (Moran 1992, xxvi, no.70) or the Linear B *ku-pi-ri-jo* could have referred to such a role. These trade facilitators would have been able to transmit local knowledge on consumption practices back to producers. They would also have had the authority to mobilise oil for perfume making, mark pots for specific destinations and take payment for the transactions they carried out. More than that, they may have predicted, encouraged or even actively promoted consumption trends at the export destinations.

Having seen, for example, how Mycenaean table-wares were used to build social prestige amongst elite consumers, they would have understood how the popularity of Mycenaean pottery could be extended to a much wider, sub-elite consumer base. In the case of small Mycenaean stirrup jars, it may have been the *ku-pi-ri-jo* who started a trend in both the consumer and the producer markets.

Summary and conclusions

Until the early 14th century BC, it would appear that Mycenaean communities did not use perfumed oil, at least from small containers designed for individual consumption. Their preference for alabastra suggests that instead they used more solid unguents. The appearance of small stirrup jars in the Aegean coincided with the peak of the trade in Mycenaean ceramics to

Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean. There is plentiful archaeological evidence for this trade, and for some targeted marketing of specific goods, while textual documentation also suggests a possible Cypriot link. Since Cyprus had the greatest experience and the knowledge in producing and distributing juglet commodities, it seems entirely plausible that the idea for perfumed oil in the Mycenaean version of juglets, and possibly even the know-how for manufacturing their contents, were transmitted from Cyprus to the Aegean by traders, craftspeople and other Cypriot intermediaries.

Notes

- 1 In this paper stirrup jars are referred to by their Furumark type using the prefix FS (Furumark 1941). They have been described as large when over 20cm in height (often plain storage types), medium-sized when around 15–20cm in height such as decorated types like FS 169, or small when around 10–12cm in height with a similar capacity to typical eastern Mediterranean juglets.
- 2 The identification numbers of Linear B documents have three parts. The first two capital letters indicate the site, so PY refers to Pylos, KN to Knossos etc. The next letters refer to series of tablets from that site dealing with different topics. The final number is the one assigned on excavation.
- 3 The term sub-elite was coined and used by Susan Sherratt to refer to a group of consumers who had access to less prestigious or exotic substitutes of valuable commodities (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, 363).
- 4 There is a suggestion that *wi-ri-za* or wool could relate to wool-fat or lanolin and hence an ingredient in the production of ointments or unguents has been discussed as has the use of wool as a filter (Beck and Beck 1978).

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SOME NOTES ON THE JEWELLERY OF CYPRUS AND GREECE: THE ART OF GOLDSMITHS AND COPPERSMITHS FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE TO THE EARLY IRON AGE

Anna Paule

Introduction

The attempt to study prehistoric jewellery from Cyprus and Greece under the same perspectives is tempting in many respects. To begin with, it will be adequate to point briefly to the historical framework at about 1200 BC for which the conception of a “Greek Dark Age” following the Mycenaean period is often cited. Because of the lack of monumental architecture and other signs of advanced civilization, this traditional idea explains the visible changes in the material culture as a time of pauperism and less spectacular arts and crafts. This also implies a decrease in manufacture and use of jewellery. However, later discoveries in a number of sites such as Perati and Lefkandi suggest that trading links with the Cyclades and Cyprus were not completely disrupted. The latter island in particular was not as badly affected by the historical events believed to have caused these “Dark Ages” but instead appears to have acted as an important mediator between Orient and Occident, though I would avoid this cliché. Quite the contrary, studying these early beginnings of Greek art will always remain fascinating. In the effort to make a small contribution to this field of research, the present article deals with the evolution of ancient jewellery after the decline of the Mycenaean culture with the focus on possible changes or signs of continuity. Being concerned with both material and textual sources, the influence of Cypriot art is an essential ingredient to any study about the prehistoric gold jewellery.

However, the objective of this article is not just to give an introduction to this research area but rather to inspire further discussions of prehistoric material whose interpretation is related to specific issues such as chronology or technological progress: the first use of fibulae and the introduction of iron are good examples for this.¹ The first steps of iron technology are all the more interesting since gold jewellery is often imitated using inferior materials. This can be partly

explained with different goldsmithing traditions or an acute lack of high-quality material. Therefore, the first part of this article is concerned with the study of applied technology and methods of jewellery production during this period. The second part focuses on specific questions about possible cultural interactions (trade connections). All these links will be shown by giving some concrete examples of gold and bronze which support my hypotheses about Cypriot imports or Cypriot-inspired objects.

Major types and manufacturing techniques of ancient jewellery

As of the Late Bronze Age (LBA), the jewellery consists of attachments for the hair, bracelets, earrings, fibulae, hair bands or diadems, other decorative bands and plaques (among them so-called “mouthpieces” to cover the lips), necklaces and pendants, pins and different rings which were not only for fingers but also for noses and toes. One has to consider, however, that not every cemetery yields pieces of all categories or of high quality: discoveries of (bronze) bracelets are restricted to certain depositories (Late Cypriot [LC] III, Enkomi, hoard of bronzes, see Schaeffer 1952, 44–45, nos. 10–11, 13–17 and 29–34, figs. 2 and 4) or locations, mostly Enkomi (LC III, Courtois 1981, 165, nos. 229, 289, 305; Courtois 1984, 31–32, nos. 272–274, figs. 5, 48 and 54, figs. 10, 15 and 18), later Amathous (Cypro-Achaic [CA] I, Laffineur 1992, 13–14, type b) and

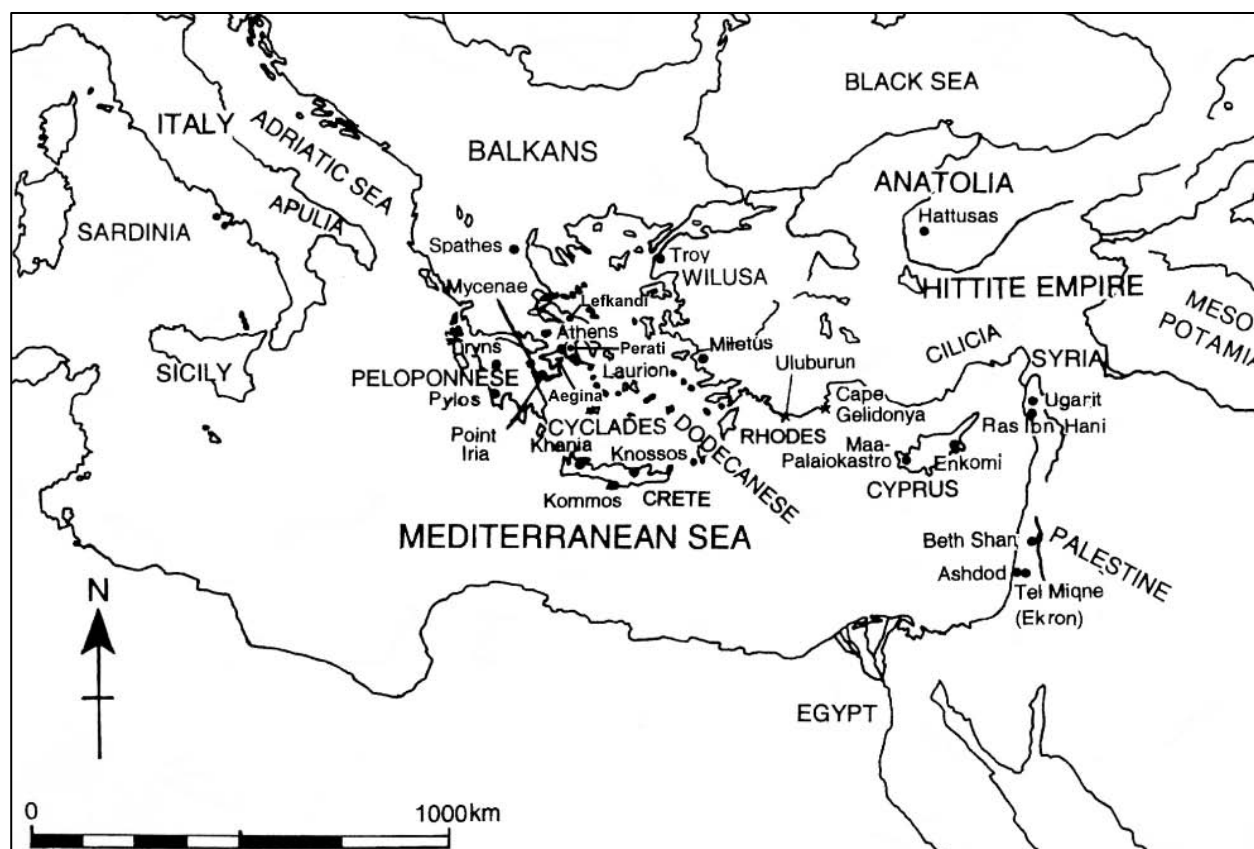


Figure 14.1: Map of the eastern Mediterranean with sites mentioned in the text (From Dickinson 2006, 31, fig. 2.4).

Idalion (CA I-II, Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 604–605, types 2 and 4–5 for further examples). Nose rings (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. LV, 2/13 and CLV, 1; Gjerstad 1948, 2, 162 and fig. 34) are rather known from sculptures such as a Phoenician mask made of terracotta wearing a golden one which was found at Carthage (6th century BC, Quillard 1987, II, pl. XXXIV).

Occasionally, the same types of jewellery (dress pins, finger ring, fibulae) can be found as bronze imitations. Such bronze copies are confined to simple, heavy pieces which were produced by casting and hammering. These are typical works of the prehistoric European goldsmiths or rather coppersmiths, while more elaborate gold works assembled of thin gold sheets, wire and granules have a long tradition in the Near East and Western Asia (Ogden 1998, 14). At the end of the LBA, all current (modern) gold work techniques like casting and hammering, assembling and decorating sheets of gold with engraving, filigree and granulations are already present. The technique of granulation was well known in the Aegean Bronze Age. It seems, however, that the knowledge of granulation disappeared for some time while the Mycenaean empire collapsed. That might also be the reason for the close parallels to Mycenaean granulated beads as in the case of the famous Cypro-Archaic necklace from the sanctuary at Arsos (CA I, Pierides 1971, 27–28, pl. XV) to name just one example² which documents the phenomenon of a reintroduction or rather resumption of certain techniques and styles as mentioned above.

At the beginning of the Iron Age and technology, some more imitations of jewellery in iron can be found – mostly pins and rings, but also fibulae – which is rather due to the attempt of a first dealing with a new metal than the later and more common use of iron for working implements (Snodgrass 1982, 285, “stage I” of iron technology). Concerning the earliest jewellery made of iron in Cyprus, there is a small iron pin which was found at Hala Sultan Tekke (LC II or about 1250 BC, Waldbaum 1978, 18 and footnote 27). This item can be regarded as one of the first Cypriot pieces of jewellery made of this metal. The general use of iron in a greater degree in Cyprus is first seen in LC III (Gjerstad 1948, 558). Further pins entirely made of iron or decorated with an ivory head are noted for the LC III period (*e.g.* Enkomi, tomb 74, Murray, Smith and Walters 1970, 53). In Greece, first iron pins with a flat disc-head and a globe on the upper shaft (mostly of bronze but also in ivory) appear at about 1050 BC in Athens, Lefkandi and in the Argolid (SM, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 69 and 71–74, SM types B2–4, pls. 8–12; Lemos 2002, type 2/1, 104–105, fig. 1). Furthermore, this comparison of Cypriot and Greek jewellery of iron is not only limited to pins but can be also extended to further categories of iron jewellery, primarily fibulae or rings as mentioned above.

Cypriot jewellery: a definition

After dealing with major types and manufacturing techniques, a short definition of Cypriot jewellery will be given. In this article, the term “jewellery” is not only used for gold objects but also for imitations made of bronze or iron which are commonly brought together to form the category of “personal objects” (e.g. Catling 1964, 230–247). This deliberately broad definition refers not only to the initially intact surface of these objects whose colour was similar to gold or silver but also points to the intended use which implies a desire for gilding parts of the body and cloths.

In addition, we can assume that some pieces were imported due to the trading community of the various population of this island. Therefore, the essay to determine different centres of manufacture must be a research objective, even though exact information about their location and their distribution density in Cyprus is – despite some notes for possible workshops like finds of jewellery moulds or tools – often missing. As a consequence, the main interest focuses on pieces which can be clearly distinguished from the basic simple everyday form such as simple rings or dress pins. Because of their elaborate decoration, gold plaques or earrings are ideal for discussions about origin and distribution. The first-mentioned gold plaques can be divided into two groups. At first, there are numerous thin individual sheets of gold with an embossed decoration which is usually obtained with the help of one, sometimes more chasing tools. A typical example is a diadem with an embossed decoration of ram’s heads or bucrania from Enkomi, tomb 61 (LC III, Murray, Smith and Walters 1970, 43, no. 232, pl. VII; see our *Fig. 14.2*). Secondly, there is a smaller group of identical gold plaques with the same embossed decoration. Such pieces were obviously produced with a cavity plate allowing a serial production of the same pattern as in the case of some gold plaques which were excavated by M. Ohnefalsch-



Figure 14.2: Diadem with embossed decoration of bucrania from Enkomi, Tomb 61 (verso and recto).

Richter at Amathous (CA I, Kapera 1981, 106–144, pl. XIV, 3 and pl. XV, 1–2; see also our *Fig. 14.3* which belongs to a set of four gold plaques with an identical decoration: a chariot scene in the lower part and women holding flowers in the upper part). This complex copying process also implies the presence of some craftsmen who are experienced in this area such as the goldsmiths from a local workshop. As a consequence, later discoveries of identical gold plaques on several places would also hint at superregional contacts established by one certain centre of fabrication. Unluckily, such elaborately decorated gold plaques seem rather to be found at single locations even if the topic of decoration is essentially well known of similar, but not identical pieces. Therefore, a customer-oriented exchange of



Figure 14.3: Golden plaque showing women holding flowers and a chariot scene.

gold work technology by mobile artisans or by trading with cavity plates is an assumption which can be only proved by chance. The same copying method, however, is not limited to Cyprus but can be also found in Greece. There, some identical gold strips found at the Athenian Kerameikos, tomb 72, are decorated with a simple animal frieze which was obviously obtained with a cavity plate (Geometric or, more precisely, from the 8th century BC Kübler 1954, 22, 185, 190, 296 and pl. 158). Due to this fact, these gold strips are considered as works of Eastern craftsmen (probably from Rhodes or Cyprus).

Concerning the large amount of Cypriot earrings, a frequently found type is most interesting for a reassessment. Until now, approximately 190 pieces in the form of a bull's head were found, which were in use during the LBA or LC II-III periods of Cyprus (14th–12th centuries BC). Just a few pieces were exported to Greece (eight) or to Egypt (four). Eighteen more pendants of similar style were found at Ialysos, Rhodes, where they were worn as a necklace (Buchholz 1986, 133 *and seqq.*, figs 16–20). Another type of earring is not only regarded as Cypriot but also as Phoenician in style. Its distinctive feature is a cubic pendant with a pyramid of granules and a u-shaped support which is attached to a more frequent leech-shaped, open-ended hoop with pointed ends (CA I, but primarily dated to the 7th–6th centuries BC, Quillard 1979, I, 50 *and seqq.*, pl. XXI, figs 9–12). Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand the given shape of such pendants which is often interpreted as a stylized measuring vessel or bushel

for cereals. Compared to the earrings in form of a bucranium mentioned above, this type is predominantly noted for regions outside of Cyprus: from the Near East and Rhodes until Sardinia, Sicily and North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia), a fact, in which we can recognise the Phoenician maritime trade connections. Moreover, the superregional study of certain types of jewellery and their distribution in the whole Mediterranean region hints at a significant contribution for further discussions about possible trade routes in the ancient times.

The problems of interpretation

This part of this article is dedicated to a short demonstration of three current problems which occur while working on a comparison of Cypriot and Greek jewellery. This can be done using the following examples whose importance for questions about cultural interactions is most likely even higher than suggested by different studies.

First of all, we are confronted with certain Cypriot gold works which were found in Greece. Some of these objects cannot be seen as signs for direct trade connections but rather as “heirlooms” as in case of several earrings found at Perati in Attica. This site is particularly well-known for its LH IIIC cemetery which has provided also some foreign types of jewellery, for example, three gold earrings in the form of a bucranium. One of them, found in tomb 11, reminds of the most elaborate Cypriot type with granulation (LH IIIC2 or 1165/1160–1160/1100 BC, Iakovidis 1969–70, vol. I, M. 39, 314–316; vol. II, 454; vol. III, pl. 97β; see our *Fig. 14.4*). The obvious similarity to Cypriot items supports the interpretation of such articles as imported ones. This can be illustrated by one of the similar earrings found in the ancient town of Enkomi, Quartier 2E (LC IIC, Courtois 1984, 51, no. 464, fig. 45, 28, pl. XXIV:8; see our *Fig. 14.5*).³ But as already mentioned above, these Cypriot earrings such as the given example are spread over an earlier period between the 14th until the 12th century BC. Not only therefore but also because of a general lack of archaeological evidence for trading links until after the end of the LBA, the idea



Figure: 14.4: Gold earring in the form of a bucranium from Perati.



Figure: 14.5: Gold earring in the form of a bucranium from Enkomi.

of a continuous trade with the Early Iron Age Greece is often not accepted. How controversial the current opinions about possible links can be shown by using some more material from Perati. In this context, it has been stated (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, 47–74) that the general lack of imported objects during this period would suggest a displacement of Cypriot trading interests: instead of former contacts with the Aegean, a preference for Egypt or Syria as trade destinations in the eastern Mediterranean and for Italy (Sardinia, Sicily) in the western Mediterranean seems to be plausible. This would also imply that the obviously Cypriot earrings mentioned above should be interpreted as heirlooms of the former Mycenaean period. At the same time, (Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, 68), some contemporaneous Egyptian amulets have been accepted as one of the exceptional cases of imported objects during this time with Cyprus as possible trading partner. As can be seen from recent surveys taking up this very question one should, however, bear in mind that the earrings mentioned above which seem to be products of the previous period were found in a later context (*e.g.* Dickinson 2006, 204). Furthermore, there is no need to interpret them as “hoarded heirlooms” even when the earrings from Perati were longer in use than usual. As a consequence, cultural interactions cannot be excluded but also not proved beyond doubt.

Finally, it can be stated that such considerations about possible heirlooms concern single find pieces. They, however, should not exclude the trading of goods in the Aegean particularly by the Phoenicians. Their role as sailors and as merchants but also their elaborate metal works (vases and jewellery) are already described in the Homeric narratives of the Trojan War⁴ which refer to the time at about 1200 BC. Later discoveries of orientalising gold jewellery⁵ which belong to the following centuries suggest not only the presence of Eastern craftsmen – such as Phoenicians – in Greece and at Crete but also allow stating explicitly a re-establishment of contacts.

In addition to the discoveries of jewellery it will be right to briefly point to other signs of a resumption of trading links after the decline of the Mycenaean culture. This can be recognised when examining some vases from Athens and Lefkandi which are comparable with Late Cypriot IIIB types (1075 BC, Dickinson 2006, 129 and ch.1). Even if such documents are not too numerous, they complete not only the given impression of possible cultural interactions at that time but are also important for the dividing of the Early Iron Age Greece into periods.

Secondly, it can be shown that trading links are not limited to Cypriot articles. Among the Late Mycenaean types of (bronze) jewellery which were found in Cyprus, early types of fibulae are particularly interesting. In connection with this should be noted that the appearance of the fibula in the Aegean keeps still discussions about their initial phase going. The earliest pieces are called violin-bow fibulae or leaf-shaped bow fibulae. The latter is a variant of the first-mentioned type. Both fibulae were named after the typical form of their bows. First examples are known of



Figure 14.6: Fibula from the Kerameikos.



Figure 14.7: Fibula from Enkomi.



Figure 14.8: Bracelet from Kourion.



Figure 14.9: Bracelet from Perati.

Greece and Crete, where they occur during the 13th century BC or before the beginning of LH IIIC; but they are also known from Cyprus. This can be illustrated with one (somewhat later) specimen from the Athenian Kerameikos, tomb 108, and another one from Enkomi, tomb 38 (SM and LC III or 1200–1050 BC, Kraiker and Kübler 1939, 47–48, pl. 28 and Murray, Smith and Walters 1970, 16–17, no. 788, fig. 27; see our *Figs 14.6–7*). They are considered as (northern?) Mycenaean types or even as pieces which were imported by maritime links with Italy (Dickinson 2006, 161–162; Lemos 2002, 109. This hypothesis was also discussed by Giesen 2000–01, 40–54 referring to previous studies as of Blinkenberg 1926.). A foreign origin would also explain the slightly earlier appearance of the more elaborate violin-bow fibulae in contrast to the later but technically simpler arched fibulae which are considered as Aegean or Cypriot products (for the latter, the variant with a swelling and two beads at the bow is particularly well known). After all, the last problem of non-Cypriot jewellery which was, however, found in Cyprus should be argued. Such pieces suggest not only an influence of Eastern art but can be seen as direct imports from the Eastern countries (“Orientalia”). Some of them also appear in Greece. This can be illustrated using two last examples (*Figs 14.8–9*): a bronze bracelet of adjustable size found at Kourion-Episkopi, tomb 101 (c. LC II-III or 1300–1050 BC, Murray, Smith and Walters 1970,

81, no. 1) and another one from Perati, tomb 131 (LH IIIC2 or 1165/1160–1160/1100 BC, Iakovidis 1969–70, M 174, vol. I, 453 and 455; vol. II, 297 and 454; vol. III, pl. 136a). This type which was fastened with twisted overlapping ends is primarily known from sites such as Meggido and Ras Shamra. There, such bracelets appear during the 13th and 12th centuries BC. But the earliest specimens which were recorded in Mesopotamia date to a period as of the second half of the third millennium BC. Therefore, the Orient can be regarded as the initial origin of these bracelets (Schaeffer 1952, 43 and 63–66). Later, they were found again at various sites in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete and Greece which indicates that they are well known at the end of the LBA.

Literary sources and other evidence for overseas contacts

After dealing with some specific examples for a possible long-distance exchange with Cyprus, another more general point of view on this topic should be considered. It is commonly assumed that different population groups such as Phoenicians, Cypriots, Mycenaeans, and the Egyptians had a long tradition in seafaring in the Mediterranean basin. Because of a lack of written sources, little is known about the extent or the motivation of their overseas contacts at the end of the Bronze Age (Dickinson 2006, 30–35). According to the archaeological evidence of the LBA, including some Linear B tablets reporting some exotic materials such as gold, ivory and spices as well as some terms (personal names) referring to a Near Eastern origin (Cline 1994, 128–131, E1–18), it seems that at least the major Mycenaean and Minoan centres benefitted from such relations. This may have taken place in the context of diplomatic or ceremonial gift exchange between the ruling elites (as known from the Egyptian “Amarna letters”, Cline 1994, 39–41, EA 14 and 17) rather than by commercial trade. This seems to exclude the presence of palace-independently operating merchants. Nevertheless, a single case of such a merchant is documented by the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck, sunken around 1200 BC (Bass 1967). Its identification as a Phoenician merchantman has not only evoked some associations with such merchants known from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but also led to some criticism since such descriptions do not necessarily reflect the historical setting at about 1200 BC (*e.g.* Bass 1991, 69–74). These passages could also hint at the later period of Phoenician westwards expansion and mining interests such as told in more recent Greek literature (*cf.* Herodotus VI, 47 describing Thasos and its gold mines which have attracted the Phoenicians; see also Morris 1992, 143–144 for a critical examination). A few small objects from the same shipwreck, however, clearly reflect Near Eastern influence and trade connections. This applies in particular to some so-called sphendonoid (sling bullet) balance weights. They refer not only to the Egyptian *qedet*, mentioned as a standard unit of measurement in the eastern Mediterranean during the second mill. BC (*c.* 9.3 gr.), but also

document a still existing long-distance exchange system since such weights are known also from various sites which were in use during the final stages of the LBA (Rahmstorf 2008, 159–163).⁶

Taking these points into account together with the archaeological evidence of artefacts, in particular, the jewellery from the LH IIIC period on which was the central part of our considerations, a continuation of long-distance trading links until after the decline of the palace centres seems possible, at least at some places such as Perati (for example, with Phoenicians or Cypriots as trading partners). Furthermore, a general decrease of imported articles during this period as well as a reorientation of trading interests (metals instead of pottery, etc.) in the Aegean has been identified (Cline 1994). This new desire for metals might have been the basic cause for the coming Iron Age and for the subsequent revitalisation of overseas contacts, as documented also by some jewellery, for example, from Athens (see above) and Lefkandi.

Conclusions

Finally, this article can be regarded as a brief survey of problems while working on prehistoric jewellery from Cyprus and Greece. As has been stressed in the introduction, there are many reasons why both types of jewellery can be argued in form of a comparative study. This research area is all the more interesting since most of the LBA civilizations in the Aegean collapsed at about 1200 BC. As a consequence, the following centuries were once commonly regarded as a “Dark Age” on account of the lack of monumental architecture and other signs of material prosperity such as the manufacture or use of jewellery. Because of the results of later excavations in important Early Iron Age sites it seems, however, that trading links with Cyprus were not completely interrupted.

Cypriot jewellery shows the influence of both Eastern and European goldsmithing traditions. Therefore, the large amount of jewellery can be roughly classified into skilfully arranged gold works and simple cast and hammered objects usually made of bronze. Only a few pieces consist of iron. In this respect, also fibulae must be regarded as innovative products of this period. Questions about the initial centres of manufacture can only be given a general answer. Large amounts of jewellery which were found in some depositories and cemeteries suggest the presence of a local centre of production. Furthermore, it should be possible to distinguish between different workshops using elaborate or well-known types of jewellery.

The last part of the article is dedicated to the point where visual analyses reach their limits. The present research tasks would often require condensed information from different information sources. In order to solve these tasks, a reassessment of other imported articles such as the contemporaneous pottery or the application of interdisciplinary research methods could be

helpful. As it can be stated using both textual and material sources, however, the prerequisites for superregional trade connections during this period were for certain given. Therefore, it is all the more probable that also the jewellery will follow this line of arguments.

Suggested reading

In order to avoid an unnecessary number of additional footnotes, the literary references are confined to some main publications. Further surveys provide useful information about specific topics such as granulation (Wolters 1983), hammering techniques (Treister and Hargrave 2001), and the manufacturing of ancient jewellery (Nicolini 1990). In addition to studies on Greek and Roman jewellery tracing back to Higgins 1961, there is a major text on prehistoric western Asiatic jewellery (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971). Furthermore, the famous Cretan jewellery from the Tekke tholos tomb was reevaluated (Hoffman 1997). Recent studies on Cypriot jewellery are mostly provided by previous Ph.D. theses (*e.g.* Goring 1983, Giesen 2000–01, and Kontomichali 2002). Useful summaries about Greek jewellery are given in new surveys on prehistoric Greece (Lemos 2002, 101–134; Dickinson 2006, 158–171). Different types of jewellery such as violin-bow and leaf-shaped bow fibulae (Blinkenberg 1926, 41–58) or dress-pins (Jacobsthal 1956) are now updated (see Kilian 1985; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1990 or Giesen 2000–01, 40–54). A useful outline of the continuity of some prehistoric goldsmithing traditions is given in various papers (such as Laffineur 1978, 73–92 or Laffineur 1998, 9–14, and Ogden 1998, 14–22). Different surveys on trade from LBA to Iron Age provide detailed summaries of imported articles (see Cline 1994, and Dickinson 2006, 191–218 for recent references).

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Notes

- 1 Previous publications (before the studies of Waldbaum 1978 and Wertime and Muhly 1980) suggest an arrival of new people such as Dorians in Greece and the Philistines in Palestine as a solution for the cultural progress at the end of the Late Bronze Age as demonstrated by the use of iron or smaller changes of material culture like in dress-style as demonstrated by the use of fibulae.

- 2 See also some similar granulated beads from Ephesos (8th century BC, Marshall 1969, 77, nos. 995–997, pl. IX which are in more recent literature dated to the second half of the 7th century BC, cf. Pülz 2009, 78–79 with further examples). Furthermore, some recent discoveries of Mycenaean jewellery have increased our knowledge of granulated beads (LH II or c. 1500–1400 BC; see Higgins 1961; 1980, 73–74, fig. 13). We should, for instance, refer to sites such as Nichoria (McDonald and Wilkie 1992, 293, footnote 158–159) or Aidonia (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 62, no. 43). Four more beads from Crete are dated to the LM IIIA1 period (c. 1420–1380 BC, Effinger 1996, 26 and footnote 393).
- 3 Most similar to the pieces from Perati are two earrings from Kouklia-Skales which belong to the previous LC II period (Winkelmann 2008, 275, no. 158). Probably, these earrings make part of a continuation line starting with earlier, so-called “mulberry cluster” types: simple circular or oval earrings with pointed ends which are decorated with some gold granules at the bottom. In this sense, similar pieces with a more or less elaborate conical pendant could be seen as first attempts to create earrings in form of a stylised bull’s head (Laffineur 1980, 282–296. Buchholz 1986, 129–130 has doubt but presents the same pattern of classification in his survey on this jewellery).
- 4 We hear about a silver vessel serving as a competitive price at the funerary games for Patroclus which was brought from the Phoenician merchants over the dark waters (*Iliad*, XXIII, 741–750) and about Phoenician merchants offering a piece of gold work and amber before the later kidnapping of the little Eumaeus (*Odyssey*, XV, 454–461).
- 5 A fine example is the pair of gold earrings from the so-called “tomb of the rich Athenian lady” from the Agora in Athens (Geometric or about 850 BC; Higgins 1969, 144–145, pl. 34, j-k and Smithson 1968, 77 and seqq., pl. 32, 77 a-b). Other items were found at Crete, Khaniala Tekke, tomb 2 (PG or 850–820 BC, Boardman 1967, 57–77). The evidence of links with the Levant, Cyprus or Egypt is not limited to jewellery but also known of further objects mainly found at Athens, Lefkandi or at Crete (Knossos) during the 10th and 9th centuries BC. A brief survey on this topic was recently given by Dickinson (2006, ch. 7).
- 6 The most recent examples were found in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi, tomb 79 (A “warrior trader’s” tomb? SPG or c. 875–850 BC, Popham and Lemos 1995, 154 and 156, pl. 8).
- 7 The article refers to a presentation given at the POCA conference held in Oxford from 19–21 November 2009 (title: “Some notes on prehistoric jewellery of Cyprus and Greece: a first interim report of a thesis about ancient gold work, grave customs and possible trade connections between 1200 and 600 BC”). The author is an Austrian Ph.D. student at the Université de Provence, France, where her thesis project about ancient jewellery from Cyprus is held at the MMSH, Centre Camille Jullian, under the supervision of A. Hermay.

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IMITATION OR INNOVATION? STYLE, DECORATION AND SYNTAX OF GREEK AND CYPRIOT POTTERY DURING THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

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Introduction

Similarities in pottery style, comparable decorative elements and decoration systems are very often seen as evidence for close ties between regions (Kourou 1998, 167). Imitations also deserve attention in this respect. Classical archaeologists are mainly, although not exclusively, interested in imitations because of their capacity to prove the existence of foreign residents and craftsmen (Boardman 1959). Such a view of the phenomenon neglects some other important considerations and problems. What are the main reasons to imitate pottery? At what point can we speak of true imitations or innovative creations? What criteria need to be fulfilled in order to speak of a true imitation? What sorts of variations can be found within the group of imitations or new innovations? And finally, who are the addressees of these imitations and why did they prefer them to local forms and decorative syntax? Boardman (2002, 5) pointed out that Greek pots in a foreign cultural environment can be understood as signs of varying degrees of direct contacts, especially when we can see that consumer preferences were apparently observed by the producer. In that sense the imitations or innovations, which reflect consumer preferences, can be considered as evidence for close cultural contacts.

The introduction or absorption of foreign decorative elements into a traditional stock of decorative patterns is strongly related to these questions. By foreign I do not necessarily mean a foreign culture. The term “foreign” is used here whenever morphological features or decorative designs that do not derive from the local artistic tradition are discussed. The introduction of Attic motifs into Euboean decoration also fits into this category, as do Cypriot motifs. While imitations or new creations can be identified relatively easily, the process of the introduction of foreign motifs into a familiar and traditional design system is not always straightforward. The original source might not always be clear. Furthermore, the manner and route of dissemination cannot be followed since we only see the results in the archaeological record while the dynamic process behind them does not leave any traces. Open questions related to internal chronological

developments of different regional pottery styles are not very helpful either. While in Classical archaeology the above mentioned phenomena usually received the attention of scholars, a rigid and clear set of methodological tools and defined criteria that should be employed when analysing these processes and the involved artefacts is lacking.

During the first half of the first millennium BC, constant links between Cyprus and Greece are highlighted by imports of Greek pots in Cyprus from the Protogeometric period onwards (Gjerstad 1977) while on the other hand Cypriot imports in Greece are few but not entirely absent. In the Early Iron Age, Euboea is one of the regions that received Cypriot pottery imports among other artefacts (Karageorghis and Kahil 1967). Interestingly, Euboean vessels dominate the spectrum of imports in Cyprus from 750 to 700 BC. Moreover, Cypriot and Euboean pottery have similar distribution patterns in the East, especially during the Late Geometric period (Sørensen 1997, fig. 1:2). These phenomena raise questions about the relationship between these two islands during the Early Iron Age, in particular during the 8th century BC. Various aspects need to be considered in this respect but this paper focuses on the possible mutual influences on the pottery production of both islands. Questions regarding the processes that induce change and lead to new artistic developments in vase painting are strongly related to this.

First and foremost it is necessary to develop a set of criteria that allows us to distinguish between various categories of imitations. Further, I want to focus on the role of foreign pots and decoration styles within the development of the local regional styles. Can they be seen as instigators of new developments as suggested by Franken (1982, 142)? This paper does not claim to be of a complete character or to collect the whole corpus of available material. It is designed to outline some principle methodological problems that have to be considered within the study of imitations and new innovations of vessel forms and decorative styles.

Classifying Imitations

For a systematic approach towards the recognition of the impact and infusion of foreign styles, syntax and decoration, the classification of the artefacts has to pave the way for the interpretation. It is needed to describe the phenomenon and to identify various different degrees of the integration and adaption of foreign decoration traditions that are probably represented in the artefacts in various degrees.

In his 1935 study of early “Hellenisation of Latium and Etruria”, Blakeway (1935, 129) classified the excavated pottery into four groups. He essentially distinguished between imports, local pottery made by Greeks, local pottery made by “barbarians” and local pottery of “barbarian” shape and workmanship but with decoration derived (albeit not strictly copied) from

Greek designs. Classical archaeologists such as Coldstream used Blakeway's system to describe and interpret imitations of Greek pottery (Coldstream 1979, 268; 2010, 23). The problem with Blakeway's system is that he did not separate description and interpretation; furthermore he did not outline the underlying principles of his classification and the subsequent grouping of the artefacts.

Instead of using Blakeway's "interpretation-integrated" model, I prefer to use a more descriptive system before attempting to group and interpret the various pots. The following system is simply based on theoretical options that are summarised from morphological and decorative combinations. The system is divided into four main groups:

Group A

1. Pure local form with few foreign decorative patterns.

The local repertoire is still more dominant, either through one large main decorative motif or through the application of repeated local minor motifs that stand out clearly against the foreign major decoration elements.

2. Pure local form with dominating foreign decorative motifs.

This time foreign elements clearly dominate the decoration in their execution and their arrangement on the surface. However, local elements can still be observed.

Group B

1. Foreign form with purely local decorative syntax.

The potting, the surface treatment etc resemble local types.

2. Foreign form with a mixture of local and foreign decoration patterns.

This group can be divided in three subgroups (similar to A 2) where a) the local tradition dominates, b) the foreign tradition dominates through a major decorative motif or the application of several minor decoration patterns and c) a new design is applied on the surface that cannot be found otherwise in the local stock of motifs.

Group C

1. Pure imitations.

In this case the vessels as well as the decorative motifs are copied. They are also applied in the same manner and with the same syntax as on the original. Only technical variations in the colour of the paint and different clay compositions can be observed.

Group D

1. A hybrid vessel form with a mixture of local and foreign decorative patterns.

This classification should only be a guideline. There will not always be clear separation between these groups or the subdivisions among the groups. However, I consider this system to be more objective than Blakeway's since the reasons for assigning one vessel to a particular group are clearly outlined.

Imitations and Style

Before the various aspects of imitations or innovations are discussed, it is necessary to devote some attention to style and its possible function within a society. The functions of style and decoration have been interpreted differently in archaeology. Style can be divided into emblematic or iconic style (Sackett 1982), which is consciously used to transfer messages to a particular target group, and the assertive style that unconsciously signals messages (Wiessner 1983, 257–258). Sackett (1985, 157), speaking of isochrestic variation, understands style as the product of craft traditions that were imbedded within the social group to which the artisan belonged. If we accept that style is functional or endowed with a meaning used to communicate particular information, we have to agree that this phenomenon may also apply for imitations. The question that arises from this discussion is whether also imitations communicate certain messages and if so, which social group is being addressed. The basic messages of imitations of Greek pots might be as simple as non-Cypriot, exotic, valuable and so on. Embedded messages can be directed towards different purposes, targeting not only different social factions but also distinct consumer groups. Stylistic changes may occur through changes in the form of objects (groups B and C), through the change of a design's complexity (group A) or through both (group D). The difficulty lies in assessing the meaning of the groups A, B and D. The explanation that suggests the mixture of foreign and local design elements to be production related – in many cases linked directly to the origin of the producer or to the quality of their craftsmanship – does not explain the phenomenon properly. Decorative motifs are often very simple and could have been easily implemented even by the unskilled painter. It seems more likely that the combinations of foreign and local motifs were a careful selection designed to appeal to the consumer in certain ways.

While studying the imitations it is necessary to keep in mind that introduction of foreign elements or changes of the morphology and the design may occur due to different sets of circumstances. These may not necessarily be related in any way, although we cannot exclude the possibility entirely (Kramer 1985, 95). In a conservative craftsmanship milieu (Kramer 1985, 92–93) the mechanism of demand and consumption is an important factor that induces change.

Furthermore, the acquisition and use of an object is surrounded by a package of emotions, needs and desires that structure the social life of a thing (Appadurai 1986). This was conceptualised by Fincham as discrepant consumption (2001, 36). One of the major functions of the imitation seems to me to “manipulate” this consumption process by evoking a set of emotions, which of course must already exist or be known to the consumer. In that sense, imitations have to be considered as “emblemic” since the producer is actively signalling a certain set of messages. What remains open is the question of whether an exact imitation is needed in order to evoke a certain set of emotions or whether only an initial impact is necessary to stimulate desires for foreign objects.

Imitations

Indications of Cypriot influence on Euboean pottery can be observed from the Early Protogeometric (EPG) period onwards. In particular the lentoid flasks, a common shape in Cyprus, appear in Euboean tombs. The shape originated in the Near East and was relatively common in Greece during the Late Bronze Age. Its appearance during the Early Iron Age might be due to the survival of the shape in Cyprus rather than in Greece itself (Gjerstad 1948, 283–284). The earliest example is decorated in a local fashion and therefore it can be assigned to group B 1 (Popham *et al.* 1979, pl. 92: Pyre 1a2). Among them one can find close copies of Black Slip I ware (Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 42:9) that can be classified as group C. Further examples such as the flask from Tomb 3 of the Palia Perivolia cemetery (Popham *et al.* 1979, pl. 126:9) belong to group B 2 (b). Another flask (group B 2 [a]) from Tomb 40 of the Toumba cemetery combines a foreign shape with local and foreign motifs (Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 44:1). The painter certainly had difficulties decorating this shape as indicated by the five vertical strokes below the neck. They fill an otherwise empty space that was too small for a decorative element that would match the other motifs and the consistency of the overall arrangement. Among the flasks one finds pieces that can be assigned to group D 1 (b) (Popham *et al.* 1979, pl. 145, T 31, 6) and D 1 (c) (Popham *et al.* 1979, pl. 126:8). The trefoil lip as well as the flat base is a feature that is alien to Cypriot originals but can be found in Athens (Desborough 1980b, 331–332). Finally, on one Euboean flask (group B 1) found on Skyros the decoration departs completely from Cypriot originals, not only in its motifs, but also in the way the decoration is arranged on the surface (Lemos 2002, 80, pl. 97:4).

This short discussion demonstrates a variety of different groups. No clear development from close copy to freer adaptation can be made out. Close imitations are restricted to one or two examples. Imitations of open shapes are missing. Interestingly, Cypriot imports, which would explain the transfer of shape and decoration, have not yet been excavated.

The picture is quite different in Cyprus. Cypriot pottery shows familiarity with Aegean traditions already in the Late Bronze Age (Iacovou 1988, 84; Sherratt 1991). The earliest and only Cypriot vase that shows influence of the Greek Protogeometric style is probably a belly-handled amphora from Salamis (Yon 1984, fig. 1:b). The shape is only slightly different from Attic originals but the decoration is foreign. Three concentric circles drawn with a multiple brush dominate the decoration panel. The chain of hatched lozenges is unusual for Attic contemporary EPG examples but very common in the stock of Cypriot decorative motifs (Gjerstad 1948, fig. 5:14). The amphora from Salamis follows the Proto-White Painted style that corresponds to the EPG phase in Attica (Desborough 1980a, 111–112). The decoration is a mix of local and foreign motifs as well as syntax but the shape is common in the local repertoire. Therefore the amphora can be assigned to group A 2.

The earliest drinking pot that can be recognised as an imitation is a local Bichrome version of a pendent semicircle (psc) skyphos (Coldstream 1987, 23–24). It is dated to 800–750 BC and is the earliest attempt to imitate an imported Greek vessel. The skyphos departs from the prototype in decoration technique and in morphology. The pot is painted in the local Bichrome technique. Encircling bands dominate the surface of the lower part of the vessel instead of the usual fully glazed zone. The interior is also not glazed like the Greek examples and the pendent semicircles are drawn free hand rather than with a compass and multiple brush, a tool obviously unknown to the painter. Taking all characteristics together, the pot fits best into group B 2 (b). Besides this example, one further skyphos of the same Bichrome style is known from Cyprus but instead of the pendent semicircles, three vertical zigzag lines appear in the decoration panel (Gjerstad 1948, fig. 21). This time the painter did not try to imitate the pendent semicircles by applying them in free hand but he chose a different design. Interestingly he did not use a motif from the local existing repertoire. In order to create a convincing Greek imitation he invented a new motif that cannot be found on local drinking cups or on contemporary Greek originals.

Another group of cups inspired by Greek prototypes appears in Cyprus during the 9th to 8th centuries BC. They are copies of psc-skyphoi but they lack the typical motif of the pendent semicircles, leaving an empty space in the decoration zone. The class was summarised by Catling (1973, 182–183) and updated by Coldstream (1987, 23). They are decorated either in the Bichrome, or in the White Painted style (Gjerstad 1948, fig. 18; Coldstream 1987, pl. 10). The date of these skyphoi is disputed and ranges from 900 to 700 BC (Catling 1973, 183). Two skyphoi from Amathous Tomb 7, third burial stratum, (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. 12, top row fourth from left; second row seventh from left) can be added to the group.

The classification of the latter group as well as the skyphos with zigzag lines is not clear. Although the morphological features resemble Greek prototypes closely, the typical motif of Greek originals is missing and is not replaced by a Cypriot one. Since the Bichrome style is a distinct local feature and unpainted decoration zones can be found on contemporary Cypriot bowls (Gjerstad 1948, fig. 12), a classification as group B 2 (a) seems to be the most appropriate option.

Black-on-Red I skyphos from Amathus Tomb 16 can be closely related to the above mentioned group. The shape is more globular but the example has the distinct carination (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. 113). This type may also go with our group B 2 (a).

A series of local imitations begin to appear in Cyprus at around 750 BC. Coldstream analysed this group extensively in an article (1979). One example belongs to group A 2 (*Fig. 15.1*) but the majority belongs to group B 2 (b). Some can be classified as B 1 and a few as B 2 (a). Only two pieces might be considered as pure imitations and can be classified as group C (Coldstream 1979, pl. 31, 4. 29, 5–6). One skyphos combines a meander with two flanking birds and the other is decorated with groups of vertical lines. Similar decorative features can be found in the Euboean regional style, although only rarely (Verdan *et al.* 2008, pl. 18:61; 49:218).

Apart from skyphoi, other shapes also appear among Cypriot imitations. One Cypriot krater is a remarkable copy of Greek originals (*Fig. 15.2*). The Bichrome style is a clear Cypriot trait. The proportion of foot and body departs slightly from Greek prototypes although the potter tried to imitate the characteristics of the shape such as the ribbed foot and the stirrup handles. The



Figure 15.1: Cypriot footed bowl of Bichrome IV style from Ay. Iakovos. Group A 2. MA 272, 1945 (From Coldstream 1979, 259, pl. 29:4, Number 5).



Figure 15.2: Krater of Bichrome IV style. Group B 2 (b). Pierides Foundation Museum, Larnaca
(From Karageorghis 1985, 187, fig. 178).

decoration as well as syntax is very close to Greek originals. The centre is dominated by one motif flanked only by secondary decorative elements such as vertical lines and w-patterns. The latter pattern departs slightly from the typical M-motif applied by Attic potters during the Middle Geometric (MG) period of which one example was exported to Cyprus (Gjerstad 1977, pl. 5:1). The major element is a pattern that recalls the meander even though it is quite different from Greek counterparts. A branch-like motif in the centre is another feature, which is not found on Greek prototypes. From this it follows that the krater, like the majority of the skyphoi, is a combination of a foreign shape with foreign decorative elements applied in foreign syntax and identifiable local elements. Therefore the crater belongs to group B 2 (b).

It is striking that apart from two examples, close imitations are missing. Even the group with the meander in the decoration zone departs from the originals either because of the use of local ancillary motifs or because the meander is applied in a different way (only one turn). The meander-like motif of the krater highlights again that Cypriot potters were inspired by foreign designs, but turned them into something new. Some of the skyphoi testify also that the painters were aware of the original compositions on Greek examples. The change of the motif therefore was a deliberate choice by the painter and not due to a lack of craftsmanship or knowledge. Furthermore, some skyphoi seem to show motifs that are otherwise not found in Greece or on local Cypriot shapes (Coldstream 1979, pl. 31:2–3). These can be assigned to group B 2 (c). The majority of the so-called Al Mina ware with groups of scribbles or latticed squares (Boardman 1959, pl. 24) is assigned to this subgroup. Only two skyphoi depart from the rule by using a

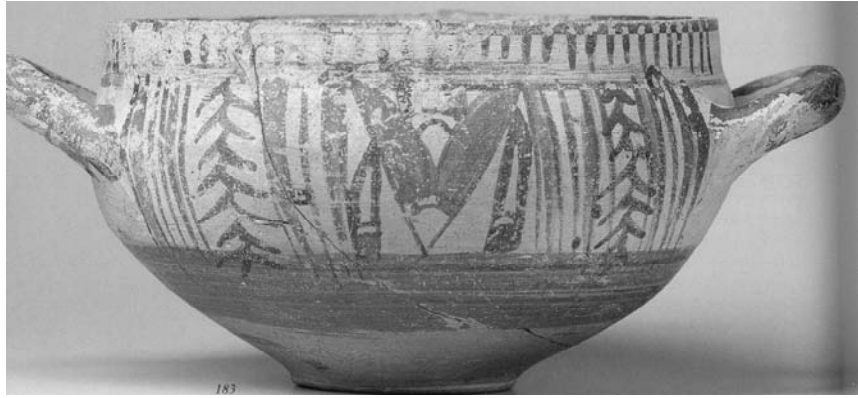


Figure 15.3: Skyphos of Bichrome IV style. Group B 2 (a). Severis Collection
(From Karageorghis 1999, 232, fig. 183).

popular local motif and therefore belong to B 2 (a). One piece deserves closer attention (*Fig. 15.3*). A rather sloppy lotus occupies the centre of the skyphos. This decorative pattern is frequently found on Bichrome IV bowls (Karageorghis 2002, 89, 102). The glazed interior and the dashes on the lip that discontinue over the handle zone are characteristics of MG Greek traditions (Coldstream 1979, 263). The lotus is executed in a way that is not found on Cypriot originals. The Bichrome style is “degenerated” since the red is transformed into brown and the interior of the hanging leaves is left blank. The ancillary patterns resemble herringbone motifs rather than the w-pattern or chevrons. It is also noteworthy that the skyphos is covered with a white slip, a practice that is not very often found in Greece, at least not before 750 BC.

Coldstream interpreted most of the skyphoi as made by Cypriot potters (Coldstream 1979, 269) and the same might be true for the krater discussed above. His basic arguments are that the decorative motifs depart from Greek originals and that the quality of the execution does not match Greek originals. Compared with the best Attic examples this might be true but what if we compare these imitations against pieces of lesser quality? Several examples found in the Kerameikos at Athens (Kübler 1954, pl. 92) highlight the range of execution of the meander motif. Concerning the quality of execution our interpretations rest too often on the best Attic examples and we have to ask ourselves if we would come to the same conclusions when we compare the imitations against vessels from other regions, such as the meander on a Boeotian krater for instance (Coldstream 1968, pl. 44:h). The basic problem is to distinguish the hand of a less talented Greek painter from a Cypriot one who imitated Greek motifs probably for the first time. If we apply Coldstream’s criteria to the skyphos with the lotus motif (*Fig. 15.3*) we have to come to the conclusion that this skyphos was made by a Greek painter because a local Cypriot painter would be familiar with a popular motif such as the lotus flower and its application on pottery. The dashes on the lip that stop above the handle zone also indicate a painter who can be



Figure 15.4 (left): Cypriot footed bowl of Bichrome III style. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AN 1961.413 (From Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974, 278, pl. XXIV:A8).

Figure 15.5 (right): Euboean Late Geometric one-bird skyphos from Cyprus. (From Gjerstad 1977, pl. 6:8, Cat. No. 61).

linked to a MG Greek craftsmanship tradition rather than to a Cypriot pottery milieu where dashes as well as the custom to stop with the lip decoration at the handle zone has no antecedents. If my interpretation is correct we also have to consider whether the phenomenon of covering the surface of the pots with a white slip in Late Geometric Greece was stimulated by Greek potters in Cyprus who introduced this technique on Euboea and in the Cyclades (Aloupi and Kourou 2007).

The variety of imported skyphoi which show a broad variety in terms of their decoration reveals that the motifs used by local Cypriot potters could have been easily adopted from imported examples. In theory, the presence of foreign potters is not the only acceptable model for the dissemination of foreign motifs although it cannot be excluded (Papadopoulos 1997, 451). In the majority of cases the painters were reluctant to abandon local techniques such as the Bichrome style. This would have been a necessity if they wanted to produce a close imitation. Furthermore, in some cases the Cypriot painters demonstrated that they were able to copy some motifs and distinct morphological characteristics perfectly. The krater from Salamis (*Fig. 15.2*) suggests that they were probably also able to apply these motifs in a coherent Greek syntax. This phenomenon together with the combination of foreign and local decorative elements strongly indicates that the Cypriot potters never intended to produce close imitations.

Another class of drinking cups should be discussed at this point. It belongs to the group of footed bowls with a bird in the central metope flanked by vertical lines (*Fig. 15.4*). The earliest type belongs to Bichrome III style. It shows similarities to the one-bird skyphoi imported from Euboea (*Fig. 15.5*). Coldstream believes that Euboeans adopted the motif from the Attic one-bird oinochoai towards the end of the MG II period (Coldstream 1982, 26–27). Recent findings from Eretria suggest that this type did not appear before 750 BC on Euboea (Verdan *et al.* 2008, 79).

The class is not as rare on Euboea as was once believed but the skyphoi were exported to sites in Italy and were also found at Al Mina (Descœudres and Kearsley 1983, 35–36; Kearsley 1995, 35, no. 130, pl. 2:1, 36, no. 136). Their presence in Cyprus, where another category of local drinking bowls with the same design exists, raises the question of whether Euboean potters were inspired by Cypriot prototypes rather than by Attic ones, especially since the bird has a long tradition in Cyprus as outlined by Benson (1975, 133). Furthermore, the Cypriot type appeared already during Cypro-Geometric III, which, according to Smith (2009, tab. 3), starts considerably earlier than hitherto thought. The consequences for all single types of vessels of this revised chronology are not fully clear yet but it seems appropriate to reconsider Cyprus' role in the context of the development of the Greek Late Geometric pottery style. Coldstream's argument in connection to the chronological relationship between the Attic models and the Euboean counterparts is interesting in this respect. Before the discovery of the possibly earlier Euboean one-bird skyphoi at Veii, Coldstream dated the one-bird oinochoe from Athens to the beginning of the Late Geometric I period (Coldstream 1982, 27). Instead of concluding that the Attic potters were inspired by probable earlier Euboean models, he suggested that the one-bird oinochoai must be slightly earlier even though the context of the other finds associated with the one-bird oinochoai previously led him to a different interpretation. Such a strong belief in the dominance of the Attic pottery school does not take into account Euboea's important role within Aegean trading networks and the possible artistic connections that occur with them. Contacts with foreign material culture that has different decoration systems and foreign markets with different demands might act as an important stimulus for potters to try something new. The one-bird skyphoi have to be seen against this background of Euboean activities. Their distribution abroad as well as stylistic similarities with Cypriot vessels might be an indication that Euboean potters tried to adapt Cypriot decorative elements in order to attract local consumers. The Euboean potters' active reaction to market demands was also suggested in connection with the psc-plates by Coldstream (1995, 200). Further, the Cesnola painter introduced themes on his famous crater that were quite common in Cyprus but unknown in Greece. I think this is another indicator of an active response to foreign markets (Kahane, 1975, 155–173) although an Attic inspiration cannot be excluded (Coldstream 1994). Only the clarification of the chronological development of Cypriot pottery styles and their possible regional diversity will allow us to understand how this motif and type was transferred and in what direction. Stratified material will be necessary to understand the dissemination process of this type. Stylistic analyses that are based on the hypothesis "Attica first" only prejudice the outcome of the study and are not useful to answer this question.

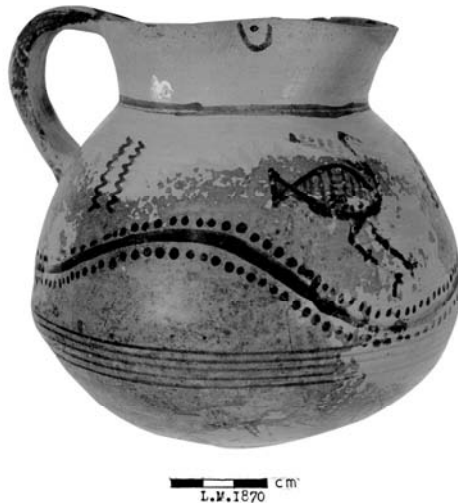


Figure 15.6: Cypriot White Painted IV jug from Ay. Phyla, Tomb 2. Limassol District Museum No. 164.61 (Photo Courtesy of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

Signs of mutual artistic exchanges

So far categories of the group B were the focus of the study. A brief look at Euboea and Cyprus by focussing on probable vessels assigned to group A might shed some further light on the artistic relations between Cyprus and Greece. The popular psc-skyphoi must have stimulated the decoration of two bowls of Black-on-Red II decoration found in a tomb at Kouklia (Karageorghis and Kahil 1967, pl. 37:3–4). Some further minor decorative elements were probably introduced into Euboea during the 8th century BC although Euboea might not be the only region that adapted them. The row of double or triple circles on tall lips probably derives from Cypriot

originals (Coldstream 1982, 23; Verdan *et al.* 2008, pl. 24:96). They can be found on Cypriot footed bowls of Bichrome IV style (Karageorghis 2002, 89, 102). The gap between these two types is somehow filled by a Euboean import found in Cyprus that carries circles on its lip (Gjerstad 1977, pl. 7:7). Rows of circles are not confined to the lip alone. On some Euboean examples they can be found in the main decoration zone (Verdan *et al.* pl. 64:311) and again a similar comparison can be found in Cyprus on a footed bowl of Bichrome IV type (Karageorghis 2002, 91, 108), which has forerunners in Cypro-Geometric II (Karageorghis 2002, 73, 77). Interestingly, a Cypro-Archaic I skyphos of Cypriot production has the same motif in the handle zone (Karageorghis 1999, 251, 202). Therefore, we find the same decorative element on a local Cypriot shape, on a Cypriot imitation of a Greek skyphos and on a Greek skyphos of Euboean production. It is hard to verify in which direction the motif “travelled” but it is another proof of an obviously intimate relation between these two regional schools.

A final example should end this brief discussion. A motif that deserves attention is the snake surrounded by dots. It is found on the shoulders of two oinochoai made by the Cesnola painter that were exported to Cyprus (Moore 2004, 85–86, pl. 50). In Cyprus it can be found on a Bichrome IV stamnos (Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974, 220) and a similar motif is shown on a White Painted IV jug from Ayia Phyla (*Fig. 15.6*). Again we cannot really say who invented the motif and who adopted it. However, if the motif was taken over from Greek prototypes then the oinochoai that were exported to Cyprus may have acted as the stimulus for Cypriot potters. If

it was the other way round however, the two oinochoai can be seen as further evidence of an active reaction to local Cypriot customs by the Cesnola painter.

Conclusion

I hope this brief discussion has highlighted some problems and phenomena of imitations and the infusion of artistic elements into the local culture. Different categories of imitations could be identified. I assigned them to different groups in order to highlight the various degrees of absorption of foreign motifs among the groups of imitations. While the established system of groups might help to distinguish between different forms of imitations, it also has its limits and problems. A locally produced Cypriot skyphos with a row of concentric circles in the handle zone can be either assigned to group B 1 or B 2 (b) according to the original source of concentric circles as a main decorative element. The question of whether it is possible to assign the various groups to artisans of different ethnic backgrounds remains open. Ethno-archaeological studies suggest that potters and painters are extremely flexible with their decorative styles and that they can adapt their decoration according to various consumer demands (Lathrap 1976, 205–207). Variations in the technical standard are consistently used as evidence for foreign resident potters or understood as an attempt to imitate an imported vessel of higher technical quality. But more than one factor may be responsible for variations in technical quality. Restricted access to proper clay sources has to be taken into account as well as the possibility of less talented painters or simply the products of unskilled apprentices. The rim fragment of a Bichrome skyphos from Al Mina (Boardman 1959, pl. 24:1, fig. 1:4) warns us against being too optimistic in identifying local or foreign potters or painters according to technical standards and decoration style. This skyphos is decorated with groups of horizontal lines on the rim and has several reserved bands on the interior as well as the bird with raised angular wings, which are all typical features found on Euboea. The technique however is of the familiar Cypriot Bichrome style. We are either dealing here with a Cypriot potter who perfectly imitated main and ancillary motifs or a Greek (probably Euboean) potter who was familiar with the Bichrome technique.

The introduction of foreign Greek shapes suggests a certain demand for Greek vessels in the local Cypriot cultural environment (Coldstream 2010, 23–24). Since the typical Greek skyphos is not a specific vessel that serves functional needs that cannot be otherwise supplied by local forms, its introduction in Cyprus was probably more due to social attributes that surrounded these objects (see above). Social attributes need a driving force that stimulates them. The vessels alone cannot just generate these attributes by themselves. One such driving force could be the local elite that had access to Greek pottery imports only (Crielaard 1999, 273–274). Therefore,

one possible reason for the production of “imitations” was to overcome the restricted access to Greek pottery imports. This is supported by the fact that “imitations” and imports are not found together in the same grave contexts. In this model the function of the skyphoi in Cyprus could be completely different from their function in Greece since the attractiveness of Greek imports may simply lie in the fact that only a small group had access to them (Coldstream 2010, 22). The second possibility of course would be the presence of Greeks or constant contacts between Cypriots and Greeks that directly activated the demand of such forms in Cyprus (Osborne 2009, 86–87). In this case the customs that “surrounded” the objects were probably the driving force rather than their ability to act as a marker of social distinction.

How can we explain the fact that most vessels belong to group B 2 (b) or B 2 (c)? I have already outlined the reasons for my conclusion that the combination of foreign and local syntax as well as decoration cannot be reduced to a sketchy artistic adoption of Greek prototypes. The function of style is controversially debated in archaeology and scholars have not provided any generally accepted conclusions so far. Nevertheless, imitations or better innovations were certainly able to convey simple messages such as “Greek” or “foreign” because that was the main reason for their production and why consumers purchased them. One explanation for a mixture of foreign and local decorative patterns might be that local motifs – in many cases confined only to the secondary motifs or to the application technique – allowed the local consumer to identify his or her own cultural or artistic traditions within a general foreign design thus reducing any possible bias or reservation local consumers might have towards new shapes and designs. Hence, this decoration compromise might be interpreted as a local potter’s strategy aiming to bring together different consumer demands in one vessel category, thereby widening the range of possible customers. This may explain the different groups of imitations. The same explanation possibly also applies to the simple decoration of the Al Mina ware (group B 2 c), which in the majority of the cases is only decorated with simple vertical lines or latticed fields. It cannot be seen as a result of artistic degeneration or as a sign of increasing “mass production” since at the same time such decoration is missing on local shapes that are elaborately decorated. The simple decorative patterns are restricted to foreign Greek skyphoi and can probably be understood as the lowest common denominators of a “foreign” decorative style. Another interpretation would be that the Cypriot potters were only “simulating” a foreign “Greek” style for their consumers like the indigenous painters of the Shipibo-Conibo ceramics who were constructing an “artificial” local style for the tourists while producing the regular ware for themselves (Lathrap 1976, 202–204). That of course suggests that the producer and the consumer knew the foreign Greek skyphos shape but were not so familiar with the Greek decoration principles. A possible

explanation for this phenomenon could be that the general characteristics of the shape did not change very much over the period of time and the import of this vessel form over a long period led to an awareness of the shape among the local Cypriots. The decoration on the other hand was more likely to be subject to changes and this probably resulted in reduced familiarity of Greek decorative patterns among Cypriot potters and Cypriot consumers alike.

Additionally, links between Euboea and Cyprus raise the question of a possible Cypriot impact on changes in Greek pottery designs and technique such as the introduction of cream slip. These sorts of questions are not restricted to this particular case. The stimulus of change in an otherwise very conservative craftsmanship needs more attention in Classical archaeology (Rice 1984, 243, tab. 2). In the case of the white slip one has to concede that the technique was already known to Greek Bronze Age potters and in some regions a white slip was occasionally applied on pots during the Protogeometric period (Walter-Karydi 1972, 386). It is therefore possible that the tradition was somehow conserved over the centuries. Even though the technique was probably not taken over from Cypriot potters, Cypriot pottery may still have triggered the application of this technique in the Greek mainland and on some of the Aegean islands.

I have interpreted the class of Cypriot bird bowls as a stimulator for the introduction of the one-bird skyphos in Greek Geometric pottery. This assumption is based on the longer tradition of this decorative style in Cyprus, the near-absence of the one-bird skyphos in Greece and on the imports of Euboean one-bird skyphoi in Cyprus. Furthermore, the strong relations between Cyprus and Euboea are not only confined to the imports found in Cyprus but they are also visible in the adoption of a few foreign Cypriot decorative motifs. This suggests that Cyprus should not be reduced to being a passive recipient of foreign cultural traits and that interconnectivity between regions probably played an important role in the development of Greek Geometric vase painting.

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THE ATTIC POTTERY FROM KITION – A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH

Iva Chirpanlieva

Introduction

The present paper aims to examine the approach of contextualisation of imported ceramics and the theoretical concept of consumption taking as example the import of Attic ceramics at the site of Kition in Cyprus. The pottery produced in Athens throughout the 5th and 4th centuries BC circulated widely and was used and praised by different communities within the eastern Mediterranean. During the Classical period, the inhabitants of Kition showed a great interest in Attic pottery and we can observe that these imports increased significantly from the previous period. Our discussion will focus on the use and appreciation of these vessel wares and we shall try to understand their meaning in the Phoenician cultural context.

Contextualisation and consumption

Contextualisation is an approach that goes beyond the traditional chronological, typological and distributional interests of archaeologists. Indeed, the contextual approach developed by Ian Hodder during the past 20 years proposes a new direction in archaeological research (1986; 2007; see also Cumberpatch and Blinkhorn 1997). According to his work, the archaeological record is the consequential result of cultural choices made by social actors, and therefore archaeological objects can only be understood within their cultural context. What we seek is to understand the cultural attitudes regarding material culture, admitting that artefacts are always used and produced for a given purpose, which can sometimes be inferred from an analysis of their ultimate context of deposition. Therefore, the ways in which objects are used and appreciated are culturally determined. According to Hodder, any study of ancient trade and exchange should take into account the meaning of the exchanged artefact in the receiving society. This means that the imported objects need to be re-contextualised in the framework of the receiver culture.

In this paper, I am interested in Attic fine-ware pottery imported into a Phoenician cultural context, as it is attested at Kition. As such, we can accept that the Attic pottery found at Kition is

integrated within a society profoundly marked by the Phoenician cultural tradition (Yon 2006). Thus, when fine decorated pottery travels beyond the limits of the society that produced it, and is integrated within the material culture of another society, it attains new functions and meanings. Hence, we need to understand how these imported Attic pottery wares relate to the tastes and practices in the Phoenician cultural context, and also why they were appreciated and how they were used. A starting point in such a study is the detailed examination of the distribution pattern of Greek pottery imports in specific find contexts such as funerary, religious and domestic. Then we can try to understand how they were used. Therefore, in the case of imported Greek fine-ware pottery, archaeological artefacts represent patterns of use, rather than the act of exchange. Hence, it is remarkable that even if the traded pottery is generally found in the contexts in which it was used or discarded, rather than in circumstances related to its production or circulation, consumption of pottery has not been sufficiently studied (Appadurai 1986). The study of consumption has gained interest in archaeology since the later 1980s. Since this date, more attention has been given to the consumption of Greek pottery and its function in cultural contexts (Crielaard *et al.* 1999; Schmaltz and Söldner 2003). However, in the Near East this kind of approach has only been applied by Keith de Vries concerning the import of Attic ceramics in the Persian Empire, but no systematic research has been undertaken (De Vries 1977, 544–548).

Pottery produced in Athens during the Classical period has been widely distributed throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Traditionally, these distribution patterns have been interpreted in terms of colonisation, hellenisation or acculturation (Boardman 1999; Elayi 1983, 227–233; Petit 2007, 9–32; Waldbaum 1997, 1–19). The use of Greek pots by non-Greeks is explained as the spread of Greeks or Greek cultural phenomena. This variability of interpretations on the basis of the same archaeological data shows that the role of the Attic pottery in international exchange is not properly understood. It is not immediately apparent and I consider that this role is dependent on the use of these vessels within the context of the recipient communities. Therefore, I take the consumer as a starting point for this study and seek to determine the contexts of use and the patterns of consumption. Indeed, very little research has been carried out on the consumption of Attic pottery in Phoenician society. The chronological and geographical study of Perreault, followed by that of Collombier, mentions only the distribution of forms and painters without any exhaustive contextual analysis (Perreault 1986, 145–175). Their intention is to explain historical events using archaeological data, showing no real interest for the use and appreciation of Attic wares. Another topic that has tempted researchers for a long time is the hypothesis of “Hellenisation” of Phoenician and Cypriot populations (Raptou 1999a; Raptou 1999b, 47–66; Elayi 1983, 227–233). Research focused on

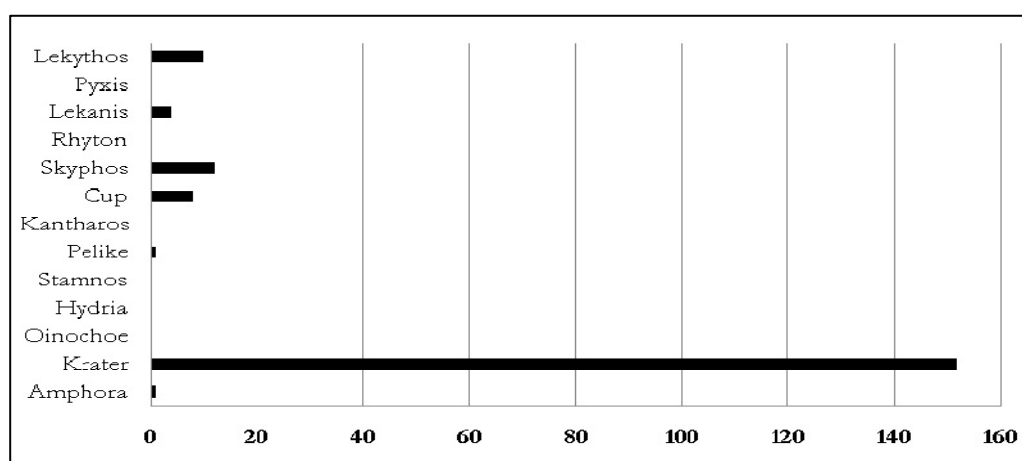


Figure 16.1: The range of shapes of the Attic red-figured vases at Kition.

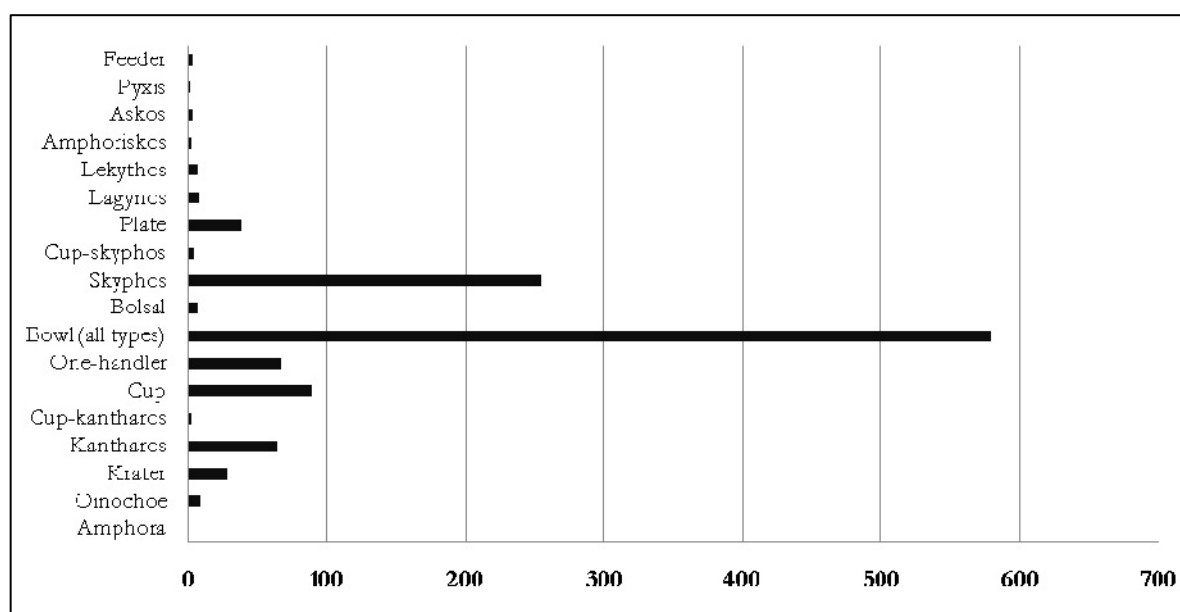


Figure 16.2: The range of shapes of the Attic black-glazed vases at Kition.

how to prove this “Hellénisme” using ceramics without any methodological approach. We need to be careful with generalisations and over-subjective interpretations imposed on the data. Thus, it seems that research should abandon the idea of “Hellenism” which has lasted too long and that the different Mediterranean cultures must no longer be considered as monoliths interposing on one another.¹ Therefore it is necessary to rethink the forms of collaboration and exchange between civilisations and the complex forms of reception and consumption.

The Attic pottery from Kition

In this article I will focus on the city of Kition, which is found on the south-east coast of Cyprus. In the 5th and the beginning of the 4th centuries BC Kition was a prosperous Phoenician kingdom

and an active urban centre of a cosmopolitan character. Although subject to Persian domination, being part of the fifth satrapy of the Persian Empire, the kingdom enjoyed relative autonomy and developed flourishing economic activity. Thus, we can observe intensification and extension of its commercial exchange, facilitated by the shift from a royal to urban economic system. During this period a significant quantity of Attic ceramics, mainly fine-wares, was imported into Kition.² In this study, I would like to examine the distribution pattern of these imported Attic fine-wares in the various contexts of use identified.

Let us first investigate the religious context. Our primary archaeological evidence comes from the excavations of the Phoenician sanctuaries of Kition-*Kathari* and Kition-*Bamboula*. The two sacred areas yielded an important quantity of Attic ceramics dating from the limited 200-year period, from the second half of the 6th century BC into the third quarter of the 4th century BC. The largest quantity is dated from 420 to 350 BC and we find mostly red-figured and black-glazed ceramics. The black-figure pottery is represented only by a few examples of amphoras, drinking cups, such as lip- and band-cups, skyphoi, cup-skyphoi and lekythoi. The red-figure pottery appears only from the beginning of the 5th century BC. We can observe a very restricted range of shapes: we find only one example of an amphora, one of a pelike and four of lekanides, kraters and drinking cups, which were the most appreciated forms at that time (*Fig. 16.1*). We also find examples of vases used as oil or perfume containers, such as lekythoi and askoi. The black-glazed vases represent the biggest part of the imported Attic vases. The group of drinking vessels seems to be the most appreciated: bowls, skyphoi, cups, bolsals (*Fig. 16.2*). We also find a few examples of oil and perfume vases such as the lekythos and the askos already cited.

In sum, Attic imports at Kition largely consist of drinking vessels constituting drinking sets. These drinking sets comprised large wine container vessels, such as the amphoras for the black figure and the kraters for the red figure, and drinking vases, mainly black glazed (*Fig. 16.3–4*). They were found together in some of the rooms of the sanctuary of Astarte in the area of *Kathari*. Other Attic types imported at Kition include perfume containers, such as lekythoi and askoi. All these shapes were regularly used in religious rituals and are also types commonly found throughout the Near East and the Phoenician world at this time. The material was found mostly in *bothroi* together with drinking vessels of Phoenician or Cypriot types as well as wine amphoras.

What interests us next is the distribution pattern of Attic ceramics in the funerary context. The necropoleis of Kition which occupy the territories to the north, west, south-west and south of the city have yielded an interesting body of imported material from the Classical period. From the different cemeteries that have been excavated, it seems that most of the Attic imports have been



Figure 16.3: Set of Attic red-figure and black-glazed drinking wares from the sanctuary of *Kathari*, room 53, including fragments of kraters, skyphos and bowls (Photo by the author).

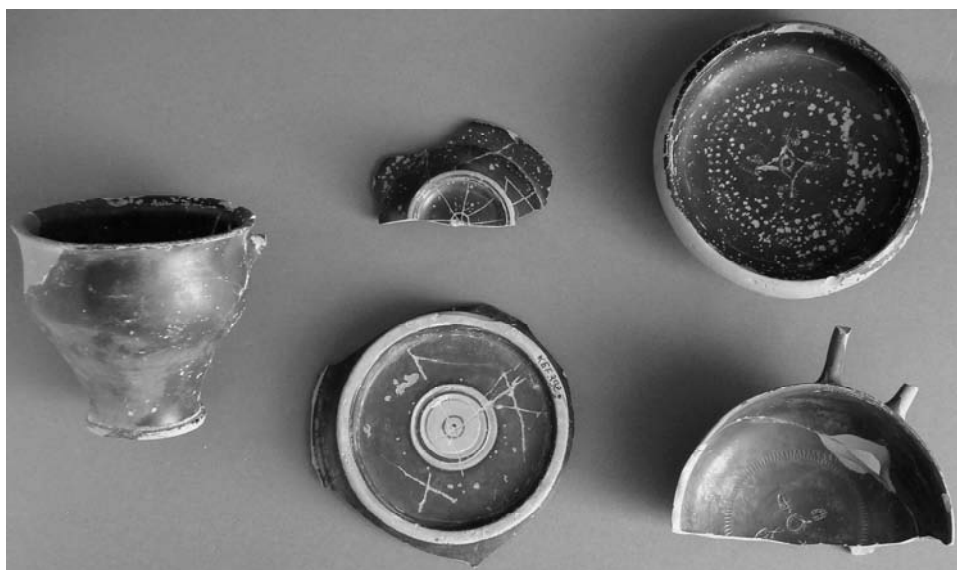


Figure 16.4: Set of Attic black-glazed drinking wares from the sanctuary of Kition-*Bamboula* including a skyphos, bolsal, bowl with shallow wall and convex-concave profile, bowl with incurving rim and a small bowl (Photo by the author).

found in graves at Turabi and Sotiros in rich burials. Those burials contained both Greek and imported Egyptian vases but mainly Phoenician pottery. The distribution pattern of the imported material shows that specific vessel types were popular in funerary ceremonies. A much appreciated form is the lekythos, either black- or red-figured. An Athenian black-figure lekythos in the Larnaca Museum, dating from 500–470 BC, probably from the Edinburgh painter (*Fig. 16.5*) originates from a funerary context. Other types of vessels are drinking shapes, essentially



Figure 16.5: (left) Athenian black-figure lekythos from Kition, c. 525–475 BC (photo by the author).

Figure 16.6: (above) Athenian black-glazed mug, Pheidias shape, from Kition, c. 450–425 BC (photo by the author).

black glazed. Here, I give the example of an Athenian black-glazed mug (Pheidias shape) in the Larnaca Museum, dating from 450–425 BC (*Fig. 16.6*). It is interesting to note that no large drinking containers (amphoras or kraters) have been found in these Phoenician graves.³ The presence of some Athenian lamps should also be noted.

The type of imported material corresponds to what we usually find in Phoenician graves. The depositional funerary practices of the Phoenicians consist of various tomb goods. In fact, the deceased was provided with all the requirements for the afterlife. The most essential of utilitarian items were pottery vessels, such as storage jars, wine containers, jugs, juglets, oil bottles, plates, cups, cooking pots, tripod-bowls, lamps etc. The imported Attic vessels deposited in tombs at Kition include drinking vases, perfume vessels, lamps, and therefore these imported types match the local types found in these contexts and probably indicate a similar pattern of use. Unfortunately, the domestic context of the Classical period is not documented at Kition. The archaeological evidence is scanty and difficult to use in this kind of study.

Conclusion

After this brief examination of the various contexts of use, let us now try to determine the consumption pattern of Athenian pottery at Kition during the Classical period. If we analyse the distribution pattern of the Attic imports, the most striking fact is that the range of shapes is generally restricted to drinking vessels, perfume containers and some lamps, which suggest that they were mostly used for wine and perfume. This selective presence of Attic vessel types can be interpreted as some kind of a fashion, rather than as an aspect of early Hellenisation of the Phoenician cities. As Appadurai has pointed out, demand and consumption are socially regulated and this is done through taste-making mechanisms such as fashion (Appadurai 1986; Tal 2003, 271–273). Furthermore, the use of commodities, dependent on fashion, is an attribute of a cultural way of urban life and Attic pottery was an integral part of this urban culture. The consumption of wine and the use of perfumed oil characterise this urban lifestyle. So it is not surprising to exclusively find fine-wares, drinking vases and perfume flasks in the pattern of imported Attic pottery from Kition (Foxhall 2005, 233–248; on the trade of wine see Ballard 2000, 1591–1620). As we know, during the 5th and 4th centuries BC the Mediterranean is largely urbanised due to an increasing concentration of population since the 7th century BC. This development of urban centres has been observed at many Phoenician sites, and several large urban polities along the Levantine coast have produced large amounts of Attic pottery. These coastal urban centres, characterised by cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism, created a distinct milieu that favoured the exchange of ideas through the interaction of individuals. An important consequence is that all the distinct traditions, customs, languages, beliefs and tastes of the Greek and Phoenician cultures were finally mutually understood. I do not suggest that those two cultures became indistinguishable, but rather that this context of urban life made possible the exchange of ideas. An important factor is also the high degree of connectivity, as defined by Horden and Purcell (2000). In the Mediterranean of the Classical period, a great interaction of regions is observed, and both Phoenicians and Greeks took part in these networks of trade and exchange.

In summary, the use of Attic pottery as a luxury commodity and the consumption of wine and perfume at Kition are in accordance with the fashion that was popular in the Mediterranean during this period. This does not mean that local cultural identities became indistinguishable. Thus, we can observe a specific choice in the import of Attic ceramics, especially in the shapes of the vases, determined by the local cultural tradition. In the religious and funerary contexts of Kition, these assemblages no longer reflected the producers' cultural "identity", but that of the receivers. After this closer examination of the material, it becomes clear that Attic pots constituted a foreign element which reached Kition following maritime exchanges rather than

acculturation processes.⁴ Indeed, the consumption of wine and perfume in Phoenician religious or private contexts is confirmed by several sources (textual, epigraphic and archaeological). These drinking sets were probably used during feasts and rituals in honour of the two deities celebrated in the sanctuaries at Kition: Melqart and Astarte. They may also have been used during the celebrations of the *marzeah*, a religious activity which was regularly celebrated and included cultic feasts or funerary banquets marked by heavy drinking (Luke 2003, 48 with further references). There is a strong tradition of banqueting in the Near East including the consumption of wine, the use of drinking sets (metal or ceramic), the use of perfume, beautiful clothing, flowers, music and dancing. These Attic imports were probably incorporated into ritual as part of the “right way” to perform it. This is attested from an earlier date, since Greek imports with the same characteristics were found in Phoenician contexts from as early as the Geometric period. The same may be suggested for the funerary depositional practices. We notice that imports had a particular function in the funerary practices. Attic imports are associated with other imports. For example, we generally find Greek and Egyptian imports as luxury items in Phoenician graves. It seems that the exotic nature of the Attic vessels made them desirable and appropriate as part of rituals and as prestige offerings.

As it has become clear from the discussion above, the appreciation of Attic pottery is related to the urban way of life, to the cultural practices of the Phoenicians and to the foreign character of those vases. Maritime exchange was a very important aspect at Kition, and the products associated with these activities held a special significance. It appears that it was the wealthiest citizens of Kition who were able to deposit Attic vases in their graves. As we know, in the Classical period an urban elite of merchants operated in the Phoenician cities and the role of the king and the palace institution was diminished (Elayi 1990; Sommer 2010). On the one hand, this class of merchants is probably one of the prime markets for Attic imports (Elayi 1990; Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007). On the other hand, the class of priests probably also commanded specific drinking sets, which were used for rituals.

In this pottery-based discussion, I have proposed that the vases should be considered more as manifestations of the social reality in which they are produced and used, if we want to write cultural history from archaeological evidence.

Notes

- 1 The hypothesis of “hellenisation” is an ethnocentric one, belonging to the theoretical framework of the “blocs” elaborated in the intellectual context of the “Cold war” (Etienne 2010).
- 2 The published material: for Kition-*Bamboula* see Gjerstad 1935; 1937; Salles 1983; Yon 2006. For Kition-*Kathari* see Karageorghis *et al.* 1981. Some examples from the necropoleis are published: Hadjisavvas 2003,

653; Karageorghis 1960, 569; 1964, 410–411; 1980, 789–790; 1982, 705–707; Nicolaou 1976. My observations are also based on unpublished material from Kition-Bamboula and graves.

- 3 I would like to mention that we can observe this same distribution pattern on other sites from the Palestinian coast marked by Phoenician presence, where we found only Attic lekythoi, as well as in graves at Ras Shamra in Syria.
- 4 Some scholars have already questioned the concept of acculturation. See Arafat and Morgan 1994, 108–134; De Vries 1977, 544–548; Dietler 1990, 352–406.

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CYPRUS AND CILICIA: AMPHORA PRODUCTION, TRADE AND RELATIONS IN THE EARLY ROMAN ERA

Caroline Autret

The remarkable proximity of the island of Cyprus and the south coast of Turkey, ancient Cilicia, has long been acknowledged by those familiar with the region. This proximity was not only geographical but also administrative since for a brief period the two areas were brought together as a single Roman province. Roman intervention in the region began in 102 BC, when “Cilicia” was declared a Roman *provincia*, an authorised sphere of military operations, in order to combat Cilician piracy. However, the history of Cilicia as a settled Roman province did not commence until 67 BC, when Cn. Pompeius Magnus consolidated Cilicia Aspera and Cilicia Pedias, following his defeat of the pirates. Still preoccupied with King Mithradates VI and other adversaries, Pompey hastily combined the two Cilicias with several other newly acquired territories, including Pamphylia, the southern parts of Phrygia and Lycaonia, and Cyprus (Mutaftian 1988, 196).

Pompey’s provincial reorganisation remained unsanctioned until 58 BC, and due to the political turmoil of the era, even this proved short lived. The unification of Cilicia with Cyprus lasted approximately one decade; in 47 BC C. Julius Caesar, as dictator, restored the island to Ptolemaic rule. All of the remaining component territories became detached from Cilicia by 43 BC (Mutaftian 1988, 209). M. Antonius and Cleopatra attempted to consolidate these regions into a hybrid eastern Mediterranean realm. However, with the defeat of these rivals by Octavian in 31 BC, Cyprus was restored to Roman authority and ceded by Octavian, now the Roman emperor Augustus, to senatorial rule in 22 BC (Michaelides 1994, 112). These attempts to combine Cyprus with Cilicia demonstrate a clear understanding on the part of Roman authorities of the common geographical, cultural, and economic interests of these two neighbouring regions. An economic relationship between the two areas is attested in the archaeological record, and especially by the presence of various ceramic types such as finewares and amphoras. For instance, as early as the late 2nd century BC, Cypriot Sigillata dominated the markets of small

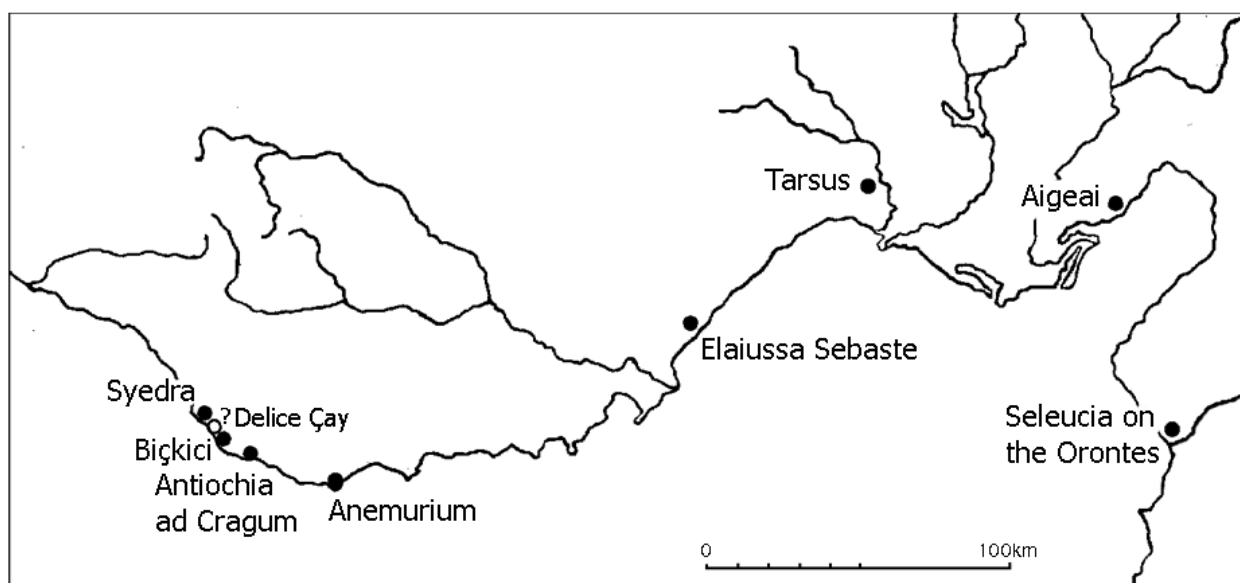


Figure 17.1: Map showing the location of kilns in Cilicia.

coastal harbours of Rough Cilicia (Lund forthcoming), and within a century the two regions began to transport surplus produce such as wine and oil in similar amphora types.

The purpose of this paper is to give an overview of the commercial relationships that linked Cilicia and Cyprus during the Roman period, by focusing on the question of regional amphora production in Cilicia and Cyprus. This study is based on amphoras for the reason that these ceramics were containers designed to carry various commodities intended to be traded overseas. The paper will consequently focus on known locations of the production centres of amphoras, as well as on the typologies of the concerned amphoras, and their geographical distribution pattern in Cyprus. To achieve this end, we will rely on analysis drawing on published and unpublished materials relating to Cilician amphora production. The unpublished materials involve the results of on-going research at various sites in western Rough Cilicia, and especially from work at recently identified kiln sites.

The amphora production centres

Recently conducted field surveys and excavations have revealed a number of kiln sites along the coasts of Rough and Flat Cilicia. Altogether, there are no less than eight possible amphora workshops (*Fig. 17.1*). It is important to stress that most of these kiln sites were identified through field-walking surveys and are generally attested by surface concentrations of fragments, representing a limited number of ceramic forms. These are invariably accompanied by misfired and vitrified amphora fragments and large lumps of fired clay that are presumed to represent kiln

lining (Rauh and Slane 2000, 321, 323, 326; Williams 1989, 94). Kiln structures *per se* are almost always lacking. In two instances—at the Anemurium kiln site in 1985 (Williams 1989, 94) and at the Biçkici kiln site in 2003 (Autret and Rauh 2010) – magnetometric surveys demonstrated the presence of anomalies that indicate the presence of kiln structures. Systematic excavation is required to confirm these preliminary findings.

Evidence for amphora production centres in Rough Cilicia during the early Roman period remains significant. At Anemurium the kiln site presents itself as a small but extensive mound entirely covered with amphora sherds. The mound is situated on a plain near the coast at the north end of the ancient city.¹ Three other production centres were identified in western Rough Cilicia during field-walking surveys conducted by the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project (RCASP), directed by N. K. Rauh (Purdue University). They are situated at a short distance from each other, in the vicinity of the modern town of Gazipasha, where investigation is continuing. The Biçkici and the Syedra kiln sites are approximately 10km apart. Both are located near the mouths of rivers, the Biçkici and the Yeşil Öz respectively.² The Biçkici site is situated at the lower part of abandoned agricultural terraces that now accommodate residential housing for local employees of the Turkish Forestry Ministry. A tower dating to the Roman period looms above a field exhibiting a significant concentration of ceramic debris. Directly above the site there is a large promontory, surmounted by the ruins of an Early Byzantine monastery (the Biçkici Kale). The promontory indicates the existence of a karstic environment and it is hollowed out by large caverns containing fresh water springs.³ Clay deposits are also present in the caves, thus attesting the presence of the useful triad of fresh water, ceramic material, and close proximity to the shore.

The kiln debris of the so-called “Syedra Kiln Site” lies strewn behind a broad undulating dune formation directly above the beach, in close proximity to the mouth of the Yeşil Öz River. The south side of the kiln site rests literally on the bank of the river. Agricultural activity along the bank of the river has exposed the remains of stone built foundations, including a fragment of floor tile, which is set in a thick block of concrete foundation. The general surface area of the kiln debris measures 67m north/south by 43m east/west. Fragments of kiln-lining, over-fired, deformed and vitrified ceramic fragments, as well as the identification in 2003 of a coin dated by the reign of Roman emperor Maximinus Daia II to 305/310 AD, indicate that a ceramics production complex was active here during the Late Roman Era.⁴ A third production centre in Antiochia ad Cragum, the modern village of Güney, was identified near a dry stream bed in an agricultural field that sits on a ridge high above the sea. Due to the heterogeneity of the fabric of sherds recovered from this area, however, the “Antioch Kiln Site” is less substantiated than the other two. A fourth possible kiln site in the Gazipasha vicinity, known as the Delice Kiln Site

after the nearby river, is located some 2km north of the Biçkici Kiln Site, on the same coast. At this site, also set back behind a line of dunes that frame the beach, the survey team recorded a large walled enclosure with a ruined structure exhibiting doorposts *in situ*. When the site was investigated by the RCASP in 1997, local farmers had exposed a clay pit directly behind the remains. Lumps of fired clay and overfired fragments of Pinched Handle (Carolyn Williams Type B) and Yassi Ada (LRA 1) amphoras were identified in and around the courtyard. The initial investigators remained sceptical, however, that the remains were adequate to confirm the presence of a kiln site (Rauh and Slane 2000, 326).

In eastern Cilicia *Pedias* a few dumps of amphora workshops were identified during field surveys in the 1980s. One kiln site has actually been excavated at Tarsus. However, this one seems unlikely to have manufactured amphoras (Goldman 1950, 274). The remains of other kiln sites have gradually disappeared due to the expanding urban development in neighbouring cities. As a result, their precise disposition is difficult to assess (Empereur and Picon 1989, 233, 242). At least four possible amphora production centres have been identified in this region. Two were located near the ancient coastal city of Elaioussa Sebaste (Empereur and Picon 1989, 321–322). As noted above, one kiln site is attested in Tarsus, located on the bank of the ancient Cydnus river (Strabo XIV, 343; Pliny the Elder V, 91), and two more have been posited outside the city (Empereur and Picon 1989, 226, 241). Other workshops have been identified near the ancient site of Aigeai (Yumurtalık), a city situated further north in the Gulf of Issus and known during Antiquity for its harbour (Strabo, XIV, 355, a mooring place). Finally, field-walking surveys revealed a workshop in Seleucia on the Orontes, also called Seleucia Pieria, a city situated near the mouth of the Orontes river, at the southeastern perimeter of Cilicia *Pedias* (Empereur and Picon 1989, 237).

After investigating these various sites and collecting sherd samples, researchers concluded that several kinds of amphoras were manufactured at these kiln sites, although further research and systematic excavations are required to confirm their location, and to ascertain which ceramic forms were produced locally. By relying on published amphora assemblages from excavated sites in Italy (Panella 1986), Greece (Robinson 1959), and Egypt (Majcherek 2007), it becomes possible to identify Cilician amphora typologies and assign them approximate circulation chronologies.

Amphora typologies and distribution patterns in Cilicia and Cyprus

The distribution patterns of amphoras produced at kiln sites in Cyprus, as well as in Cilicia, help to establish the economic relationship between these two neighbouring regions during the Roman

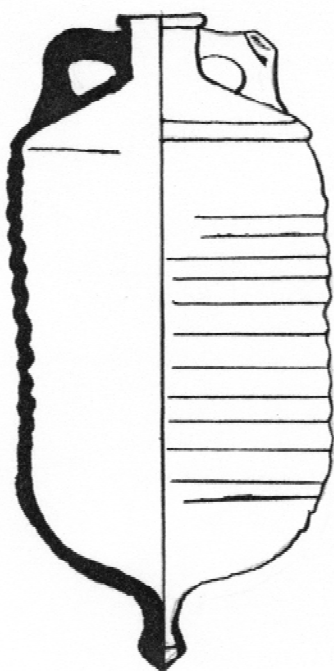


Figure 17.2.a (left): Type 1 amphora (Drawing by K. Leaman, from Rauh and Slane 2000).

Figure 17.2.b (above left): Type 1 handles (Syedra, n° inv. SKS 2008-1 and SKS 2008-2. Photo by the author).

Figure 17.2.c (above right): Type 1 base (Syedra, n° inv. SKS 2008-18. Photo by the author).

period. Before we address this matter, we need to identify the typologies of Cilician transport containers, as well as their distribution patterns in Cyprus.⁵ The distribution pattern of Cilician amphoras in Cyprus (*Fig. 17.7*) is based on published material originating from systematic excavations or field-walking surveys.

A. Cilician Type 1 = Schoene-Mau XXVII-XXVIII, Pinched-handle amphora, Zemer 41 (Fig. 17.2)⁶

As the name of this type indicates, it is characterised by pseudo-double-rolled handles, pinched at the angular turn toward the shoulder, a cylindrical and slightly ridged body, and a simple or a mushroom-shaped toe.

This amphora type was produced between the second half of the 1st century and the 4th century AD. The version produced during the two first centuries was larger, about twice the size of the form produced during the 3rd and 4th centuries. This difference was first noticed by Robinson (1959) at the excavations of the Athenian Agora. The form of the earlier, larger Pinched-handle amphora corresponds to Robinson's Agora G 199 (fragmentary [1959, 43, plate 16]), whereas the later, smaller amphora corresponds to Robinson's smaller Agora L 11 and M 239 (1959, 75, pl. 16, 108, pl. 28). It is important to stress that the larger form of the Cilician type 1 amphora appears to have been produced at a minimum of four known workshops in Rough Cilicia, namely Anemurium (Williams 1989, 91), Bickici, Antiochia ad Cragum and Syedra

(Rauh and Slane 2000, 325, 321), but at least six different fabrics have been posited for this form (Rauh *et al.* 2006). Thus far, only the Syedra kiln site, beside the Yeşil Öz River, has been identified as a production centre for the smaller, fractional form (Rauh 2004, 330). Another likely production area for the Cilician type 1 amphora was Cyprus. Researchers have recorded fragments of the Pinched-handle amphora in a red micaceous fabric and a beige fabric without mica. Scholars such as Hayes (1991, 91) and Lund (2000) have proposed that the presence of mica distinguishes the origins of these forms, and that the micaceous ones originate from Cilicia and the non micaceous ones from Cyprus.⁷ However, petrological analyses are required to confirm this origin. It is assumed that the Cilician type 1 amphora carried wine, a suggestion that is corroborated by the find of a large Pinched-handle amphora with pale, micaceous fabric during an underwater survey conducted at Antiochia ad Cragum in 2004. Its interior was thickly lined with black pine resin (Rauh *et al.* 2006, 58, 86, fig. 5).

In Cyprus, Type 1 is the most widespread type (*Fig. 17.7*). Its remains have been identified at Paphos (Hayes 1991, 91–92, pl. 23:3–4), at Yeroskipou near Paphos (Autret and Marangou 2011), at Palaepaphos (Lund 1993, 126–127, 138), and in the Akamas peninsula (at Kioni anchorage: Leonard 1995, 144–145, figs. 17–19, 153). Along the south coast, the Cilician type 1 amphora has been found at Kourion and in its vicinity (Leonard Jr. 1987, 106–109, fig. 63b–e), at Amathous and in its surrounding territory (Autret and Marangou 2011), in the Akrotiri peninsula (Leonard and Demesticha 2004, 189), at Kition (Marquié 2003, 393 and no. 24), and Aradippou (Sørensen and Jacobsen 2006). This type is also the only one known to have reached the eastern shore of Cyprus where it is attested at Ayios Philon (du Plat Taylor and Megaw 1981, 248, no. 479, fig. 61), Agia Irini (Quilici 1971, 131–132, fig. 83:40) and Salamis (Karageorghis 1967, pl. CVII and CL, no. 182).

B. Type 2 = Bell-shaped pseudo-Koan Amphora (Pseudo-Cos en Cloche), Schoene-Mau XIII (Fig. 17.3)

The name of this amphora arises from its distinctive shape: a rounded, bell-shaped neck and shoulder that comprises half the length of the jar. The horned, sharply bowing, pseudo-double-rolled handles (attached just below the rim and at the base of the bell-shaped shoulder) offer another unique characteristic. Below the flat, bevelled rim (deeply incised at its base) the amphora's neck flares outward and downward to a join at the body's midsection. Below this distinctive join the lower half of the body tapers gradually inward to a small, solid knob toe. These amphoras often display red *dipinti* on the neck.

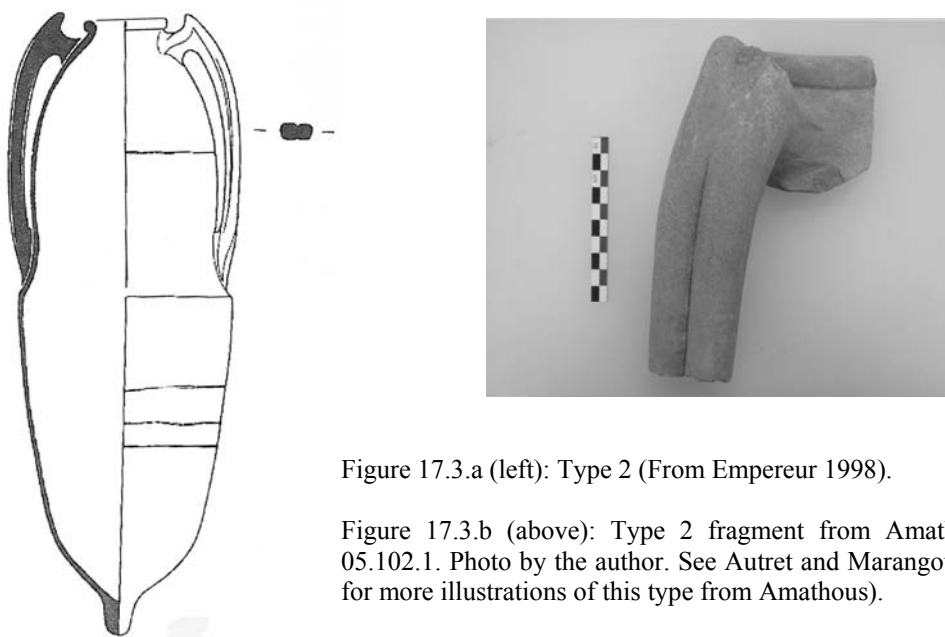


Figure 17.3.a (left): Type 2 (From Empereur 1998).

Figure 17.3.b (above): Type 2 fragment from Amathous (n° inv. 05.102.1. Photo by the author. See Autret and Marangou 2011, fig. 4, for more illustrations of this type from Amathous).

Production of the Cilician type 2 amphora is attested during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, with a few specimens recorded in early 3rd century contexts (Reynolds 2005, 588). Unlike the Cilician type 1 amphora, type 2 production appears to have been confined to Cilicia Pedias, where its manufacture is attested near Elaioussa Sebaste and at Aigeai. It was possibly manufactured at Tarsus and Seleucia on the Orontes as well (Empereur and Pincon 1989, 230–232). The type 2 fabric is pinkish-brown and is often covered with a beige-yellowish slip. The portrayal of this type in a miniature terracotta indicates that it was intended to carry wine (Autret and Marangou 2011).

The Cilician type 2 is a very common Roman amphora form recorded in Cyprus (*Fig. 17.7*). Amathous offers a perfect example of the significant volume of trade that occurred with this form on the island. The type 2 is by far the most commonly excavated amphora form; its remains are encountered in the city itself as well as in its surrounding territory (Autret and Marangou forthcoming). The Cilician type 2 has also been identified at Paphos (Hayes 1991, 93–94, pl. 25:3, fig. 68:d), at Kourion and near the city on the Yerokarka hill (Leonard Jr. 1987, 106–109, fig. 63a; Kaldeli forthcoming), at Kition-Kathari (Marquié 2004, 260), further east in Ayia Napa (Hadjisavvas 1997, 83, fig. 67, no. 13, 121, fig. 102, no. 2), and in the cargo of a shipwreck near Protaras (Leidwanger 2010, 10, fig. 3).

C. Type 3 = Pompei V amphora (Fig. 17.4)

As its name indicates, the Cilician type 3 amphora was first identified at Pompei, where significant quantities of the form have been unearthed. The Cilician type 3 amphora is a small

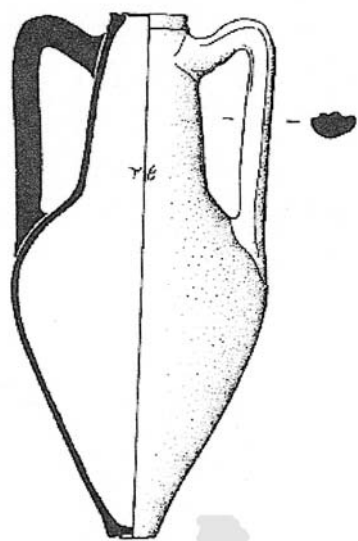


Figure 17.4: Type 3 (From Empereur 1998).

container, approximately 50cm tall. Due to its short stature it is often mistaken for a “table amphora”, especially when it occurs with a flat base (see the almost complete specimens from Egypt [Majcherek 2007, 14:5, fig. 4, no. 28, fig. 5, nos. 29–31]). Its distinctive features include a narrow flattened rim, tall conical neck, rounded shoulder, and long, sharply turned “strap” handles.

The circulation period of this amphora was relatively brief, approximately from the first half of the 1st century to the middle of the 2nd century AD. One single workshop near Aigeai has been identified for this type (Empereur and Picon 1989, 237 and no. 31); however, fabric descriptions of specimens obtained from throughout the Mediterranean point to the existence of at least five additional workshops (Reynolds 2005, 565). One specimen of a Cilician type 3 amphora was found near a kiln site in Tarsus but the isolated character of this find suggests that it did not originate from there (Goldman 1950, 268). The fabric of the Cilician type 3 amphora is generally similar to that of the Cilician type 2, suggesting that both amphoras were produced at the same workshops. The Cilician type 3 amphora is believed to have transported wine; an example found in Egypt with a resin-lined interior appears to confirm this hypothesis (Marchand 2007, 181–182).

The Cilician type 3 amphora is quite rare in Cyprus. Thus far, examples have been identified at three sites (*Fig. 17.7*): Amathous (see Autret and Marangou forthcoming, fig. 6 for illustrations of this type from Amathous), Paphos (Hayes 1991, fig. 71:13) and Kition (Marquié 2003, 393 and no. 23). Usually the Cilician type 3 is found in the same contexts as the Cilician type 2.

D. Type 4 = Dressel 2–4 amphora (Fig. 17.5)

This form, also known as the Koan-style amphora, is well known throughout the Mediterranean. It was produced at numerous amphora workshops from the late 1st century BC to the late 2nd century AD (Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 36). Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence for the production of the Koan style amphora in Cilicia, the diagnostic elements of locally produced forms remain difficult to articulate. Generally speaking, the features of the Cilician type 4 amphora resemble those of the Hellenistic Koan prototype, namely, a rounded mouth, a straight, cylindrical neck, a broad, sloping shoulder, and a cylindrical body that tapers toward a small

button toe in its lowest part. The form's most recognisable feature is its "bifide" or double-rolled handles. Joined to the neck just below the rim, the handles tend to turn at a sharp, upright angle and descend to the outer part of the shoulder. From the turn the handles tend to be long and straight.

The Cilician type 4 was produced at both ends of the territory, at the mouth of the Biçkici River in western Rough Cilicia (Rauh and Slane 2000,



Figure 17.5.a (left): Type 4 (From Desbat and Picon 1986).

Figure 17.5.b (above): Type 4 handle from Biçkici (n° inv. BCK 28b-21b-4-168. Photo by the author).

325, figs. 14–15, 17–18) and in the vicinity of Aigeai and Seleucia Pieria in eastern Flat Cilicia (Empereur and Picon 1989, 328). This suggests that it was probably produced elsewhere along the Cilician coast. Variations in fabric indicate, for example, that similar forms or variants were produced in Cyprus (Hayes 1991, 90–91). However, the data necessary to distinguish a Cypriot type remain inadequate (Kaldeli 2009, 378). Accurate circulation chronologies for these Cilician-Cypriot forms are equally difficult to determine. Their production dates most probably conform with those of the Dressel 2–4 forms produced elsewhere in the Mediterranean, namely from the end of the 1st century BC to the late 2nd century AD (Desbat and Picon 1986; Empereur 1986, 603 and no. 14). Based on the fairly abundant evidence of Koan-style forms produced elsewhere, the contents of this amphora were most likely wine.

In Cyprus the remains of the Cilician type 4 amphora have been identified at Paphos (Hayes 1991, 94, fig. 70:17), Palaepaphos (Lund 1993, 123–124, 137), Amathous (Kaldeli 2009, 375), and Kition. At the latter site, remains of the Cilician type 4 were recorded in a pit dated approximately to late 2nd-early 3rd centuries AD (Marquié 2003, 393, pl. 29:5) (*Fig. 17.7*).

E. Type 5 = Pamphylian amphora (Fig. 17.6)

Prior to the discovery of any associated kiln sites, the Cilician type 5 amphora was associated with the urban centres of Pamphylia, based on the discovery of handles stamped with the uniquely local script of the Pamphylian dialect (Grace 1973; Brixhe 1976). Dated to the early 1st century BC, its initial form has been identified in contexts as far afield as Delos and the Athenian Agora (Grace 1973). Variants of the form dating to the Late Roman period are generally unstamped. Their diagnostic features include large bowing handles that are oval in section, a

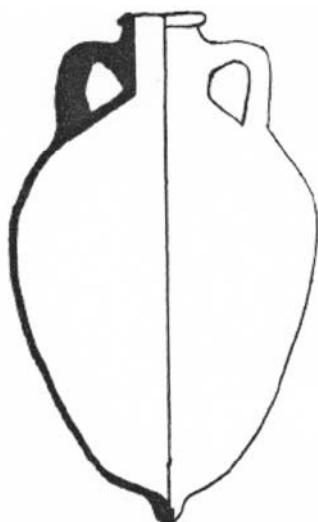


Figure 17.6.a: Type 5 (Drawing by K. Leaman based on Grace 1973, recording local features from Syedra, Rauh and Slane 2000).

Figure 17.6.b: Type 5 handle from Syedra (n° inv. SKS 2008-3. Photo by the author).

narrow rolled rim, a short cylindrical neck, and a body exhibiting a rounded sloping shoulder that turns just above the mid-section and tapers inward to a solid, round button toe. In later productions the form was gradually elongated before returning to a shape that closely resembles its initial form (Grace 1973, 198; Döğər 1992, 120–124).

The Cilician type 5 was manufactured from the second quarter of the 1st century BC to the end of the 3rd century AD. Interestingly, the only production centre attested for this type thus far is the so-called “Syedra Kiln Site,” located at the western edge of Rough Cilicia (Rauh and Slane 2000, 323, figs. 12 and 13). It should be stressed that Cilicia’s western border with the province of Pamphylia remains difficult to identify, and Roman contemporary sources, such as Strabo and Pliny the Elder, offer divergent testimonies. The former says that Cilicia began in the vicinity of Korakesion (modern day Alanya) which is described as its first city (XIV, 325, 327), whereas Pliny (V, 91) places the border further West at the Melas river in central Pamphylia. Disagreement about the precise border of Pamphylia and Cilicia continues to this day (Rauh *et al.* 2000, 154). The form produced at the kiln site appears most closely to resemble Grace’s form 13 (1973, 196, 1st century AD). Assuming that the Syedra River (4.5km west of the kiln site) marked the border of the Roman province of Pamphylia at this time, the kiln site would have been located in neighbouring Rough Cilicia. However, the kiln site was in any event sufficiently close to the cultural reach of Pamphylian communities to explain the production of the type 5 form at this locale. Grace (1973, 198) described the fabric of the Cilician type 5 as buff reddish, a description that appears to match the fabric recorded at the Syedra Kiln Site (see Rauh 2004, 329 for a detailed description). Investigators remain equally uncertain about the commodity that was transported in the Cilician type 5 amphora; both wine and olive oil have been suggested (Rauh *et al.* 2006).

In Cyprus Pamphylian amphoras are quite rare. They have been excavated only at Paphos and Amathous (Kaldeli 2009, 373–375) (*Fig. 17.7*). Fabric descriptions capable of confirming the

association of these finds with the form produced at the Syedra Kiln Site remain unavailable at this time.

Discussion

As previously mentioned, the distribution of Cilician amphora types in Cyprus is based on published material. Quantitative data are not always available. Moreover, the various contexts of findings (systematic excavations or field-walking surveys) prevail upon using quantifications when given. Despite the neglect of analysis, the distribution patterns indicate that all the Roman amphoras so far known to be manufactured in Cilicia were imported in Cyprus, where they were identified at sites located all over the island, even if evidence from the north coast is rather scarce. Type 1 is the most widespread amphora on the island, as it was within the Empire. This type was indeed recovered in the eastern Mediterranean as in the western provinces, as far as Gaule (Lemaître 2000, 473). Type 4 is also well represented at Roman sites, but because of the numerous workshops that manufactured this form, it is more difficult to ascertain its origin. Those two types, both produced in Cilicia and Cyprus, are very common in the Paphos region, where they were likely manufactured. Finally, another significant form found in Cyprus is the Type 2, the production of which was located in Flat Cilicia.

The Exchange Relationship between Cyprus and Cilicia as evidenced by the amphoras

The amphora types presented here, produced in Cilicia, and their wide distribution in Cyprus testify to the extremely close commercial relations that existed between the island and neighbouring Cilicia during the Roman Imperial era. Based on the available evidence from amphora circulation chronologies and the kiln sites themselves, a commercial relationship involving foodstuffs began shortly after Cyprus and Cilicia were incorporated into the Roman Empire. The identification of Cilician type 5 amphora fragments in Cyprus, the particular form of which was, according to Grace (1973, 198), produced during the Augustan era verifies that the two regions were already engaged in trade by this time. Connections based on the evidence of the Cilician type 4 amphora are more difficult to determine since, as we have previously noted, this particular transport container appears to have been manufactured in both regions. Based on the evidence of the other four types, the trend toward Cypriot-Cilician commercial exchanges appears to have persisted from the beginning of the Imperial era until the end of the 4th century AD.

The production and circulation of common amphora forms in Cilicia and Cyprus reflects not only the intensity of trade connections between these two regions, but also the expansion of

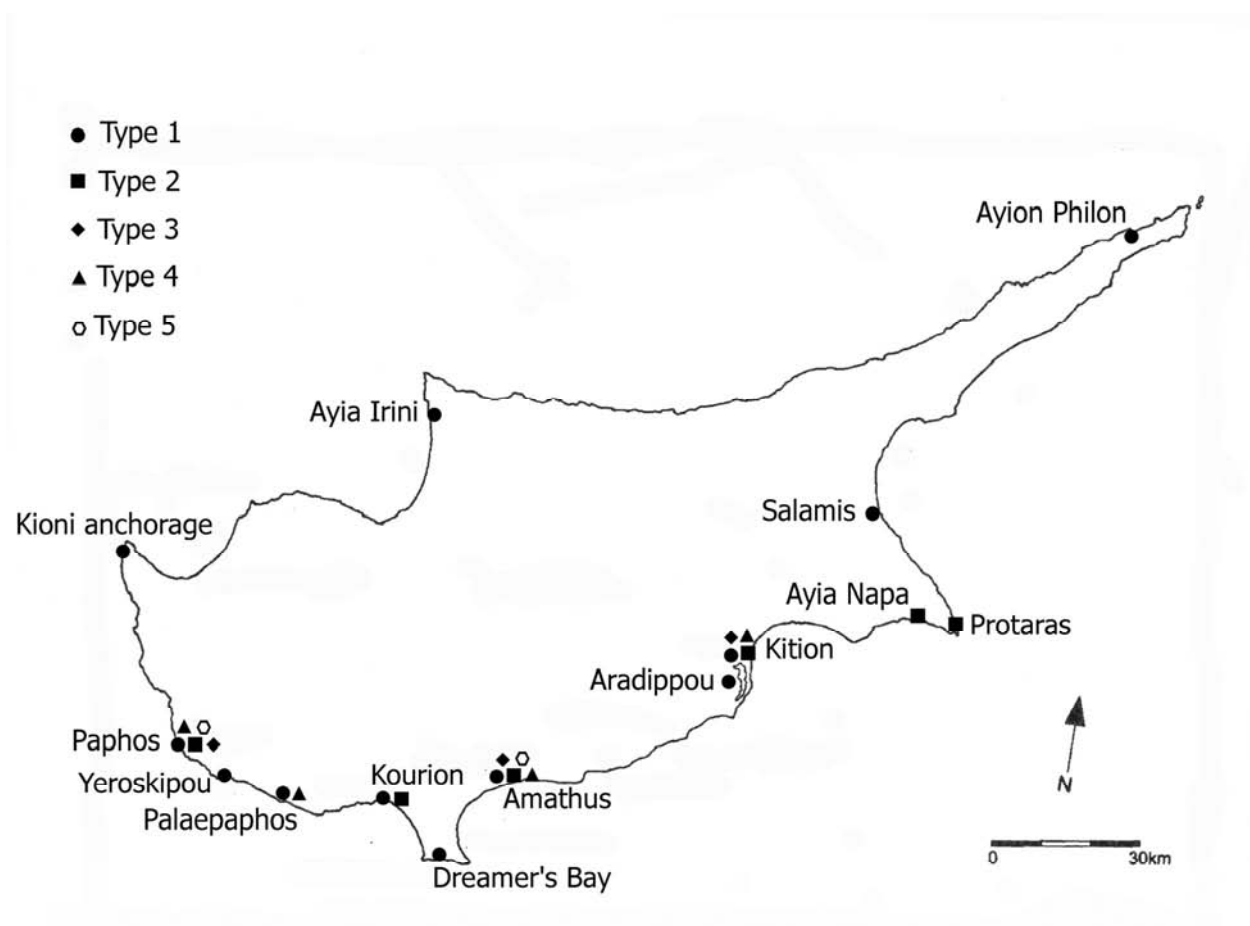


Figure 17.7: Map of Cyprus with the distribution of Types 1–5.

their respective local economies. The widespread production of so many amphora forms demonstrates that, in addition to the volume of maritime exchanges, the scale of production of agricultural surplus rose to unprecedented levels. The effect of Roman rule on provincial commerce and specialised agricultural production has been well-established for other provinces such as Crete (Marangou 1996); a similar phenomenon appears to have occurred in contemporary Cilicia and Cyprus. Recurring evidence of interiors lined with pine resin among the amphoras in question points to the production of wine as the region's principal surplus commodity. This hypothesis is corroborated by literary sources such as Pliny the Elder (XIV, 81), who praises a contemporary vintage of *passum*, or raisin wine, produced in Cilicia (see Rauh and Will 2002). Equally popular were Cilician wines flavoured with aromatic plants such as capers (*hyssopus*), that thrived naturally at the time as they also do nowadays in the Taurus mountains. Pliny the Elder (XIV, 109) asserts that a superior vintage of wine known as *Hyssopites* was likewise produced in Rough Cilicia. Cypriot wine was also famous during the Roman period according to ancient sources such as Strabo (XIV, 6, 5) and Pliny the Elder (XIV, 74). Only the contents of the Cilician type 5 or “Pamphylian” amphora remains uncertain. Although Pamphylia was better

known for its olive oil production, both wine and olive oil seem possible (for a detailed discussion of the amphora production and agricultural commodities produced in Rough Cilicia during Antiquity see Rauh *et al.* 2006).

Another indicator that wine was the principal commodity produced in Cilicia and Cyprus and exported to other regions is provided by the Late Roman Amphora 1 (LRA 1). From a commercial perspective the LRA 1 dominated all other forms of the Proto-Byzantine/Byzantine era, whether with respect to its numbers in circulation or its geographical distribution. Designed to carry wine, the LRA 1 was produced in both Cyprus and Cilicia from the second half of the 4th century to the 7th century AD (see Piéri 2005, 69–85 for a typology of this type, and especially fig. 38 for the workshops). Some of the kiln sites that produced the early Roman amphoras studied here were later utilised in the manufacture of the LRA 1. This transition may represent the culmination of an economic impulse that started at the beginning of the early Roman period and revealed itself through the production of the five maritime transport jars discussed in this paper.

Regional production of another ceramic commodity, Cypriot Sigillata fineware, appears to underscore the same commercial links, only this time in reverse. This type of pottery is contemporary with the Roman amphoras produced in Cyprus and Cilicia. Large quantities of Cypriot Sigillata fineware have been recorded in numerous sites in Rough and Flat Cilicia, including Tarsus (Goldman 1950, 272), Elaiussa Sebaste (Ferazzoli 2003, 653–655), and virtually all the kiln sites identified in Rough Cilicia (Anemurium: Williams 1989, 1–2; Syedra and Biçkici: Rauh and Slane 2000, 323, 325 and Antiochia: see the website dedicated to the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project: <https://engineering.purdue.edu/~cilicia/> and for instance the imported fineware, SC 74B or SC 79A). Moreover, Cypriot Sigillata wares occur in large quantities at nearly every archaeological site surveyed in Rough Cilicia, including urban coastal sites such as Kestros (SC 77A) and Iotape (SC 78B) and hinterland highland sites such as Lamos, Juliosebaste, and Sivaste (personal communication with Rauh and Slane; see the website and especially the maps at the GIS archive for a presentation of ceramic finds from 2000 to 2004). Initial tabulations based on unrefined survey data for the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project indicate that Cypriot Sigillata fragments represent 74% of the processed Roman era fineware in the survey region (Lund forthcoming). The abundant quantities of Cypriot fineware fragments found in Rough Cilicia may represent one example of a Cypriot “surplus commodity” that was produced in exchange for the wine and oil shipped in Cilician amphoras to Cyprus. Cypriot Sigillata was shipped as a supplementary commodity in cargoes that probably transported perishable goods (Lund 1998, 208–209) such as wine, produced locally or more widely in the

province, since the Cypriot fineware distribution pattern is congruent with that of the Cilician amphora type 1 in Mediterranean sites (Lund 2000, 571–572).

As we have seen, the evidence of kiln site production and distribution patterns of amphoras produced in Cilicia and Cyprus demonstrates the existence of a close economic interdependency between the two neighbouring regions that dated from at least the beginning of the Roman era. The integration of Cilicia and Cyprus in the Roman Empire forged a commercial partnership that lasted for many centuries. Given the limited information available about regional kiln sites, particularly those in Flat Cilicia not to mention Cyprus, our conclusions are preliminary and dependent on further investigations of the sites in question, and on petrological analysis of the clay. The limited information that is available about these early Roman kiln sites seriously impedes our understanding of the mechanisms and modes of organisation necessary to stimulate economic development in these provinces. The extensive production of Cilician type 1 “Pinched-handle” amphoras in Cilicia and Cyprus during the early Roman era, for example, appears to foreshadow that of the LRA 1 amphora in the later period. Although the last form was initially produced in Cilicia, for some unexplained reason its production expanded to and was sustained by amphora workshops in Cyprus (Piéri 2007, 613–614).

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Notes

- 1 As noted, the kiln structure was never exposed and is located just outside the excavation zone.
- 2 In English, this is translated as “Wood Cutter’s” and “Pure Green” rivers respectively (Rauh 2004, 330).
- 3 The spring water of the most accessible cavern is still used as drinking water by Forestry Ministry residents who guard it assiduously.
- 4 Among the recovered fragments was a deformed half-worked amphora toe that was apparently fire-hardened. Context pottery collected with the wasters and amphoras is mostly Hellenistic or early Roman (see Rauh and Slane 2000, 323). The attempt of the survey-team to conduct a magnetometric survey in 2003 was inconclusive.

- 5 Only the distribution pattern in Cyprus will be studied since the lack of attested kiln sites dated to the early Roman period on the island makes it difficult to assign with certainty a Cypriot origin to the amphoras. Only their difference in fabric distinguishes them from the Cilician production. Based on the similarity of a few types' fabrics with local coarse wares, an insular origin was first attributed to a few amphora types by Hayes (1991, 90–91). However, petrological analyses are required to confirm this suggestion, and allow us to study the Cilician/Cypriot amphoras' distribution patterns in both regions. More importantly, such analyses would enable us to reconstruct the distribution patterns inherent in each area, since the evidence provided by one amphora type indicates that the distribution pattern of Cilician and Cypriot productions was probably different Lund (2000).
- 6 A new nomenclature is used in this paper in order to simplify this study. Some types have a plethora of names (especially Type 1) that can sometimes be misleading. For instance, Type 3 (Pompei V) was not manufactured in Italy but was, as often, named after the site where it was first identified. Moreover, the numerous names used for a single amphora type often reflect the limited knowledge of their distribution, since many amphora types are named from various sites where they have been found, and not according to the area of origin.
- 7 This distinction reveals itself in the Mediterranean distribution pattern of the form as well; see Lund (2000). Since the form is the same, this distinction will not be taken into account when discussing its distribution in Cyprus.

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VENETIAN ELEMENTS IN THE *ICONOSTASIS* OF CYPRUS

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The aim of this paper is to examine the stylistic and morphological aspects of the *iconostasis* in Cyprus at the end of the 15th century AD in relation to the architecture of the Venetian Renaissance, and try to identify the relationships, sequences and reasons for such phenomena. Therefore, this article is an attempt to understand the origins of the *iconostasis* in Cyprus, and its development in the form that has become known today.

The structure of the *iconostasis* is the historical, therefore natural, evolution of the Early Christian presbytery enclosure (Krautheimer 1992, 26; Milburn 1991, 83–121; Davies 1952, 61–78). Through a series of structural changes and adaptations in the *Sancto Sanctorum* and its functions during mass, especially after the *Grate Entrance* in the reign of Justinian II (565–578 AD) (Lowrie 1906, 171–172), the presbytery enclosure became a *divisorium*, that is, the structure that separates the *ieron* (the holy-of-holies) from the rest of the *naos*. In brief, the empty spaces above the *plutei* and between the columns were filled, and were probably covered with fabrics, often embroidered with decorative motifs and symbols (Milburn 1991, 1–9). It was not until much later – in some rare cases contemporaneously – that the spaces between the columns were covered with painted wooden panels, before developing into icons (Epstein 1981).

As far as we know, no presbytery enclosure dated to the Byzantine period can be found in churches in Cyprus. Archaeological finds include slabs of *plutei* and screens which, when compared with the rare testimonies of the dating of these in churches, correspond to the contemporary evidence from other areas of the oriental Byzantine world (Papageorgiou 1986, 492). Furthermore, very few examples have survived from the entire period of the Lusignan rule, such as the *iconostasis* of the church of Archangelos Michael in Pedoulas, that of Agios Mamas in Louvaras and that of Agios Heraklidios in the Agios Ioannis Lambadistis monastery church. The latter, found at Kalopanagiotis village, on the northern slope of the Troodos mountain, can be considered to be the oldest and best preserved example on the island. Its original establishment probably dates to the 13th century AD (Stylianou and Stylianou 1996), and was later reassembled during the 17th–18th centuries AD. The *iconostasis* is found in the most ancient part of the Agios Ioannis Lambadistis monastic church. It is made of carved wood and is completely painted with



Figure 18.1: Detail of the *iconostasis* of Agios Herakidios, Agios Ioannis Lambadistis, Kalopanagiotis (Photo by the author).

lacquered tempera. It consists of four octagonal columns, two on the side walls and two in the centre, which create the opening of the *Orea Pyli* (main entrance). There are two *thorakia* at the bottom and a canopy covering above. There are also two icons between the columns with two panels above, and a third moulded panel above the door. The motifs used for decoration are mainly of a heraldic and geometric-floral nature (*Fig. 18.1*). The colours – red and blue with black and white details – and the arrangement of the motifs in the decorated space create patterns that are reminiscent of French crusade fabrics of the early 13th century AD (Carlano and Salmon 1985, 17; Folda 2005, 476). We do not know whether these elements were created especially for the aforementioned church; what we do know for certain is that the general arrangement of the columns, *thorakia* or *podes*, and the upper beams is the original one. The unrefined changes made, as well as the evidence of some attempts to resolve certain problems, such as the badly made cuts on the wood, suggest that this *iconostasis* may in fact derive from a larger structure that originally stood somewhere else. The above mentioned *iconostases* in Pedoulas and Louvaras are made in similar style and taste.

In Cyprus, which was not part of the Byzantine Empire at the end of the 12th century AD, western influences on religious art had a considerable impact (Folda 2005, 71). It suffices to cite



Figure 18.2: The iconostasis of Panaghia Podithou, Galata (Photo by the author).

Panaghia tou Arakos in Lagoudera, Panaghia Forviotissa in Assinou, Stavròs and Panaghia Katholiki in Pelentri, Panaghia Podithou in Galata, as well as a long series of icons (Stylianou and Stylianou 1996; Stylianou 1982, 523–529) to give a clear idea of the stylistic promiscuity and complex style expressed by the local and foreign artists that were active in Cyprus during that period. This promiscuity was characteristic of all arts, and was not restricted only to those pertinent to religion. On the contrary, it can be said that western influence had a greater impact in the social, rather than in the ecclesiastical, circles (Folda 1995, 239). The co-existence of western and eastern elements is perhaps the most important characteristic of Cypriot art and society in all historical periods. It is manifested in the language, writing, music, dressing, cuisine, sculpture

and also painting (Weyl Carr 2005, 99; Mouriki 1986). The chronicles from the Frankish and Venetian periods, the frescoes naming the donors in churches, the bas-reliefs in the cathedrals, and the archival documents all reflect a multicultural society.

The arrival of the Venetians on the island at 1489 AD (Arbel 1996) marked a change in the *iconostasis*, not so much regarding its conception, but mostly concerning its decoration. During this period, the decoration of the *iconostasis* became the main function of the wooden partition. The examples that are examined here are mainly concentrated in the area of the northern slopes of Troodos, but I do not propose to study any of them in particular. I will instead use them for illustrative and comparative purposes. Examples of *iconostases* throughout the island are very similar to one another, with a limited variety of motifs and quality of craftsmanship (Fig. 18.2). Nearly all the columns are square and are positioned on the walls, and on the sides of doors. Very often there are three columns, one in the centre and two on the sides. The *thorakia* or *podes* cover the lower part of the structure. Their superstructure ends in a window-like opening, where the icon is placed. Above the icons there are parallel strips of decorated cornices and rows of icons, usually depicting the *Dodecaorto* and the *Deisis*. At the top we have the sculptural group of *Lypira*, which depicts the group of the Calvary with the Cross and two figures or more (usually the Virgin and Saint John) at its base.

The decoration is always in relief sculpture, painted and/or gilded, covering the entire surface of the structure. The columns are generally decorated with a floral ornamental structure that rises from a vase at the bottom, culminating in a flower. The capitals are Neo-Corinthian and often have a volute in the centre. There is ornate decoration around the icons in the first order (those for adoration). It is very often floral, with garlands of acanthus, flowers and fruit. The decoration in the upper part of the icons is particular and often has a round or multi-lobed arch or, less frequently, a pointed flourished Gothic arch. The triangles between the arch and the frame are filled with garlands of acanthus that allude to the virtuosity of Islamic geometry with birds and animals. These knots often arise from vases, ending at the top with compositions of birds or animals facing one another, or with complex floral patterns. The door arches, and in particular that of the *Orea Pyli* have the same decorations and are therefore also similar in style. Of particular note are also the decorations of the *antae*. These are sometimes replaced by fabrics or, more rarely, a combination of the two is used. The *antae* are usually low and often embellished with tracery. They are painted with two-mirror scenes, frequently the Annunciation and a separate row of saints. The *antae* with their carved decorations are often Gothic in form and style and exhibit the form of pointed arches with pinnacles and acanthus, twisted mullions and small, gothic-style capitals. The first decorated *fascia* above the icons often depict the evolution of the

ornamentation around the icons. In short, they present the gradual expansion of garlands of grapevines and acanthus with flowers, fruit, pinecones, animals and birds. The pattern used to unite the decorative *fascia* in the centre, above the *Orea Pyli* is particularly interesting, since it develops a mirror pattern. A colonnade of icons of the *Dodecaorto* follows higher up, with a second parallel *fascia* above, often decorated with open shells that correspond to the icons below. The small columns are decorated, often twisted and have Gothic capitals. The same decoration is repeated in the upper order, if present. The decoration rarely changes and if it does, it repeats the style of the first *fascia* above the icons. The *iconostasis* ends with a tracery-frieze, either with twisted and crocket floral motifs, or with a simple decoration depicting the crucifix, with the figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John in the centre (*Lypira*).

The same decoration, style and patterns are applied for the *Proskynetaria* to embellish their sides. In fact, the entire wood-carved decoration in the church follows the same decorative patterns and the general style as the *iconostasis*. This observation is valid only when the church's interior is contemporary to the decorations. Regrettably, all too often this is not the case. Most of the churches underwent a series of changes over the centuries, in terms of both reconstruction and redecoration. During these activities, the pre-existing elements formed the nucleus of the new arrangement, which was completed by new features. The re-use of carved wood staff is common for *iconostases*, and this makes their dating and interpretation all the more challenging. It is important to note that the examples dating to the late 15th and early 16th centuries AD were elaborated much more over the following two centuries. During this period, the *iconostasis* became part of the local taste and tradition and was evolved in the same way as the rest of the local art, based on historical and social evolution.

Let us now turn to particular aspects of the decoration of *iconostasis*. Bearing in mind examples from the preceding Lusignan period, it is remarkable when one considers how



Figure. 18.3: Miracolo di san Bernardino (detail), Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci, called Perugino, 1473, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria.

substantially *iconostases* changed in style in such a short period of time. The elements that form the decoration of *iconostases* in Cyprus during the Venetian period correspond to examples of Florentine Renaissance architecture from the middle of the 15th century AD (Furnari 1995; Benevolo 1973, 215–319), in terms of both their appearance and also the way these were used. First and foremost, the shades of blue, red and gold were a key element in the Renaissance revival of the ancient world. Polychromatic elements of this kind have not survived today in architecture but, as we can see in contemporary paintings, such as Perugino's famous work in the Umbria National Gallery, dated to 1473 AD (*Fig. 18.3*), the use of such colours was extremely fashionable, as were the entire decorative apparatus and garments.

In addition to the shading, the decorative means used in Cypriot *iconostases* were elements that were revived from ancient times, both separately and as a whole, and were developed and adapted to the styles and tastes of the time. The decoration of the columns and the garlands of acanthus are clearly elements that are linked to the revival of grotesque painting and the reliefs of the Triumphal Roman arches. Even the shell is an element that was revived from ancient times: in this context, it was given a Christian meaning. The same can be said for all the elements that were used and adapted with appropriate additions and changes. The use of grapevines and birds eating grapes, a subject typical of the Hellenistic period and Late Antiquity, was revived during the Renaissance with a symbolic value (the grapevine of life), similar to the one used in early Christianity. Therefore, I do not believe that these elements survived in the Christian art of the Late Middle Ages to the Renaissance on Cyprus and even less so in Italy. The use of diverse decorative patterns and their skilful combination with secondary elements, such as ribbons and pearl necklaces at the edges of frames, suggest that the local craftsmen were familiar with the art of Renaissance. In other words, the examples the Cypriot craftsmen were reproducing from were perfectly coherent with the Florentine style. This naturally leads to the question of how such models reached Cyprus. However, beforehand, one needs to ask why such examples, which were linked to the peak of Catholic fashion, were imitated in an apparently conservative and distant environment, such as the Orthodox Church in Cyprus. In answer to the latter, it is easy to see how private donors, who wanted to establish or re-configure themselves, used such decorative elements that were innovative, but still were clear and suitable as symbols of their own power. The Venetian Republic as the new ruler of the island, first through Caterina Cornaro and then directly, exercised its regime in administrative matters partly in line with that of the Lusignan dynasty, involving the local patricians and subjects of the Republic who were already present on the island. The above mentioned social groups, wishing to promote themselves as the true local governors (Stylianou and Stylianou 1960, 97–128), took up the role of donors through their



Figure 18.4: “*Peri archon, sue de moderanda Venetiorum aristocratia ad Leonardum Loretanum*” by Francesco Negri and illuminated by Bernardo Bordon.

offerings of places of worship for the entire community. In this manner, the ruling class of Cyprus in the Venetian period not only tried to command the faith and respect of the population, but also wished to express their own power. Additionally, the donors attempted to link their authority to the central, unquestionable power, of the ultimate ruler of the island, Venice. The Cypriot Church itself sought to adopt the socio-economic and aesthetic values of Renaissance art, without necessarily associating these with the Catholic Church.

Returning now to the question of the presence of Florentine prototypes in Cyprus, it is first necessary to look at contemporary Venice more closely, in order to identify and establish the links it had with the Tuscan cultural environment. In the middle of the 15th century AD, the Venetian Republic felt the compelling need for deep *Renovatio* that would ensure the maintenance of its

supremacy over the Mediterranean (Concina 2006, 193–215), in particular after the fall of Constantinople, and therefore over what remained of the Byzantine Empire (Nicol 1992, 381–407; Concina 2006 53–84). In actual fact, Venice had already attempted a *Translatio Imperii* after the Fourth Crusade (1204 AD), but it was not until after the Byzantine Empire had fallen that this became operative. Furthermore, Venice also felt the need for renewal in the sense of modernisation, both from the institutional and the formal stylistic points of view. Above all, the humanists in Venice were promoting such trends, in association to their intellectual homeland, Florence (Gilbert 1980, 13–26; Cooper 2005, 365; Concina 2006, 196). If we look at the first miniature following the incipit of the Marciano manuscript Lat. VI, 6 entitled “*Peri archon, sue de moderanda Venetiorum aristocratia ad Leonardum Loretanum*” by Francesco Negri and illuminated by Bernardo Bordon, we can see that the illuminated borders are filled with drawings



Figure 18.5: Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Pietro Lombardo, Venice (Photo by the author).

that are very much in line with the Florentine style, and also that they evoke Cypriot examples (*Fig. 18.4*).

During the middle part of the 15th century AD, a number of architects and stonemasons from – or educated in – Tuscany and Lombardy arrived in Venice and set about working on public and religious buildings (Concina 2006, 281–389). Venice was the perfect place for the Tuscan Renaissance architectural style to develop, not only because of its financial prosperity, but also thanks to the cultural complexity of the city. This is obviously neither the time nor the place to dwell on such a broadly studied and well-published subject. Here, it suffices to state that the evolution of the architectural style and its ornaments at Venice was influenced by the considerable presence of Byzantine culture in the city, the appreciation of the Islamic culture, the



Figure 18.6: Funerary monument of Pietro Mocenigo, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photo by the author).

Roman sites on the mainland, the coexistence of a particular Gothic style in Venice, as well as the local traditional style (Antonelli 1876).

Let us now look at the architectural examples that were the result of the intervention of the Venetian humanists who, for almost an entire century, occupied an unrivalled status in Venetian high society (*Fig. 18.5*). We need to pay particular attention to the details of the decorative patterns on structural elements, such as columns, screens and capitals. In all buildings, whether of a religious or secular nature, the columns are always decorated with vertical *fascia* that rise upwards from vases, imitating spidery plants with compositions of fruit, leaves and animals. Other examples evoke Roman grotesques, while the most refined limit themselves to floral motifs. In these examples, the symbolic value of the decoration as well as the evolution of the Renaissance style that followed in the paths of Palladio and Sansovino should be noted. However, this is outside the scope of this study (Ackerman 2000; Puppi 1976; Mariacher 1962).

The capitals are another fundamental decorative element that is of considerable value. In this context, they are of composite Corinthian and Ionic forms, with the addition of Hellenistic and Roman elements, such as the large acanthus and birds, in the early examples, an eagle but then followed by a more generic type of a volatile. The borders are decorated with series of branches, with a variety of foliage, garlands and

fruit, often with fanciful animals in the twists or joints, placed in the centre or in the corners. The shell often appears in sequence in the arch-vaults or as the dominant element of the arch atop the building. The triangles between the external frame of the arch and the frieze are also of interest. The garlands develop with great creativity and the additional elements vary. The column plinths are high and majestic, often with exaggerated proportions in comparison to the height of the column itself. They are decorated with patterns of the same ornamental themes.

The funerary monuments of the elites (*Fig. 18.6*), which were placed inside the church, imitated architectural façades and therefore presented the same decorative motifs. The Venetian

artists also followed this style and used it, not only in their paintings, but to a greater extend in carved compositions made of wood, where painted canvases and panels were placed (*Fig. 18.7*) (Gentili 1998, 5; Lucco and Villa 2008, 202). These altar structures were developed by Veneto and Veneto-Byzantine artists during the 13th and 14th centuries AD, and were specifically created for altars. Such wooden altars were decorated with the same elements that were common in the architectural style of the particular period.

These were, therefore, the visual experiences that were encountered by the Cypriots living in the city of Venice and the Venetian residents in Cyprus. Under these circumstances, a new style emerged together with a new way of depicting the sacred. This perfection of style – as was intended by Renaissance architecture – appears to have become a characteristic of the social elites of the period. In other words, the creation, the actual commission and the dedication of such objects in such a style by the ruling class reflect not only their direct devotion towards the transcendent but are also clear elements of social communication among the inhabitants in the city. The fact that the new styles had become fashionable amongst humanist intellectuals, both civil and religious, made this expressive mode the “optimum” and, therefore, necessary and obligatory for those who wished to appear as such.

The examples presented above demonstrate a clear picture concerning the relationship between the various decorative motifs (*Fig. 18.8*). If we take the decoration of the columns-



Figure 18.7: Polyptych of San Giovanni Ferrei, Giovanni Bellini, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photo by the author).

pilasters as the first example, we can trace Cypriot descent from the Venetian examples, evident in the use of the same type of vase and the same decorative elements, often simplified but always coherent. The same can be said for all the decorative *fascia* and patterns used such as dragons, dolphins and birds, with or without the presence of coats of arms or scrolls. The garlands, leafs and animals also present similar poses in the examples from Venice and Cyprus, and leave no doubt for their correlation. The pendentives and decorative ornamental motives, the Neo-Corinthian capitals and the presence of the volute, as well as the sequences of small arches with shells, are all evidence of a direct line uniting the two geographical areas, at least from a stylistic point of view.

The transmission of this style from Venice to Cyprus did not involve the physical transportation of altars, and even less so of architectural elements, from one area to the other. This was instead the result of the transportation of small objects from Venice to Cyprus, such as benches and small frames or icons, engravings and books. The Renaissance style became then popular among publishers, and subsequently xylographers who began decorating editions of various kinds with such decorative styles (Branca 1983, 568; Dionissotti 1995, 37). The fashion of dress was also influenced. The patterns on the fabrics, laces and embroidery make such a case. Moreover, the pamphlets printed in Venice in the early and middle 16th century, with the most fashionable motifs for yarn, lace and embroidery, were known across the world, and presumably also reached Cyprus, (Pagan 1550; Vavassore 1525).

A closer look at the sculptural techniques of the Cypriot craftsmen during this period reveals further similarities with Venetian techniques, especially in the earliest examples, such as Ioannis Lambadistis, Panaghia Chrisokourdaliotissa in Kourdali, Panaghia Katholiki in Pelendri, Agios Neophytos monastery in Paphos district, and also, although not as clearly, Podithou. Similarities are observed with regards to the tools used, for example the use of the chisel, drills and the files of the stonemason. Certain similarities between the Cypriot and Venetian examples are obvious owing to the general techniques involved when using specific materials. However, other elements in the Cypriot repertoire, such as voids and spaces, display the fluidity of movement, levelling and smoothing of the background planes that was developed in Venice aiming to fulfil particular local needs. These techniques and styles were, somehow transplanted in Cyprus.

Furthermore, the finishing treatment observed in wooden sculptures is a fundamental element in Venetian art, also observed in Cyprus. The particular use of files and fraises, as well as the final plaster are characteristic elements of the Veneto technique. It is, however, true that such working techniques existed elsewhere. For instance, the technique of plastering wood before



Figure 18.8:a. Dolphin mirror pattern: Left: Detail of the Iconostasis of Agios Ioannis Lambadistis, Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus. Right: Detail of Portal from Scuola Grande San Marco, Venice (Photos by the author).



Figure 18.8:b. Birds and Foliage scrolls pattern: Left: Detail of the Iconostasis of Stavros tou Agiasmati, Platanistasa, Cyprus. Right: Detail of the facade Clock Tower, Venice (Photos by the author).



Figure 18.8:c. Griffins and Floral scrolls mirror pattern: Left: Detail of the Iconostasis of Stavros, Pelentri, Cyprus. Right: Detail of the facade of Scuola Grande San Marco (Photos by the author).



Figure 18.6:d. Shell pattern: Left Detail of Iconostasis, Museum of the Kykkos Monastery, Cyprus. Right: Detail of the Facade of San Zaccharia, Venice (Photos by the author).



Figure 18.8:e. Vase and plant pattern: Left: The *Proskynetarion* at Agios Ioannis Lambadistis, Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus. Right: The Polyptich of San Giovanni Ferrei, G. Bellini, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Photos by the author).

painting or gilding it also existed in international Romanesque art and, as a result, also in Gothic art. There are numerous examples, both in sculptures and in reliefs from this period found at a wide geographical area spanning from the Scandinavian seas to the straits of Gibraltar (Gross 1965). However, the use of thick, liquid plaster with a red bolus base, and roundings made by the use of the wolf or jade teeth or the like, are techniques that were developed in an effort to make wooden surfaces appear as marble. This technique is attested in Venice in the 15th century AD and was also used by the Cypriot artists. However, in certain cases, the technique of plastering in Cyprus differs: it is thinner and harder or at times it is omitted. In the latter case, the colours and the gold are applied directly onto the wood. It is not possible to say much about the technique of applying gold because the Venetians adopted this skill from the Byzantines. The direct use of colour in Cyprus during the Venetian period is different from the previous periods. If we look at the Frankish *iconostasis* in Lambadistis, we can observe that thick lacquers were used, applying mastic and oil. In some of the later *iconostases* we can observe real lacquers of the Veneto kind, or rather tempera mixed with hard animal glue and finished with gum that is as hard and as shiny as lacquer.

Technical details can also be used as an element of comparison to differentiate between direct copies of examples from the Veneto, and imitations mediated by other variable copies of the original pieces. We are unable to ascertain whether any Venetian blacksmiths or wood engravers were working in Cyprus, or whether there were any Cypriot apprentices in Venice. It is certain that there was some form of contact but, as discussed earlier, not all the examples were the fruit of direct interaction between the two areas. We know that wood-working craftsmen arrived in Cyprus from Asia Minor during the Ottoman period (Gazioglu 1990, 297–298) to train local craftsmen. We can also hypothesise that the latter were present in the craft guilds and trade unions of the Empire. A change in the technique and aesthetic conception of the reliefs of *iconostases* in Cyprus can be seen even during Ottoman rule. However, the technical vocabulary used concerning the techniques and tools remains Venetian, probably because of the initial imprinting that was very decisive, or because of the fact that blacksmiths' tools until the 19th century were imported by Venetian subjects from Venice (ASVe Consolato Veneto del Regno di Cipro, B. 5:163).

This discussion presented a number of suggestions that still require further study. Once the earliest *iconostases* had been completed and displayed in the churches, the cultural and stylistic passage was complete. *Iconostases* of this kind in Cyprus were initially linked to the ruling class, with its particular aesthetic and social fascination. They were therefore the perfect examples, or perhaps the prototypes, for future *iconostases*. Subsequently, this type of *iconostasis* became very

popular in Cypriot churches, and can still be seen today. The Church itself, or someone representing it, accepted such a style and in the end, between the 17th and 18th centuries AD, they identified with it (Hadjikyriakos 2009). *Iconostasis* obviously continued with its natural developments and additions connected to new styles, for example Baroque, Rococo, Islamic art, followed by the Neo-Gothic and Neo-Classic. As the style developed, so did the techniques. However, that is another chapter, one that is just as interesting, but which requires further study.

It is interesting to consider the similarities regarding both the 16th century AD *iconostases* of this kind, and its evolution throughout the Greek speaking world, in regions of present-day Greece as well as in the East (Koutelakis 1986; Sioulis 2008). The structure and decoration are very similar and the historical affinities with Cyprus make later influences obvious. As has already been discussed, I do not believe that this is linked to extended imitation in Orthodox territories, but rather that this is a parallel and natural aesthetic evolution. Style, as is the case with any form of aesthetics, is linked to socio-economic and political factors that make it an integral part of the peoples' lifestyle throughout social classes. The element of imitation is clear between centre and periphery, big and small centres, primary and secondary and so on. However, it always remains within the limits of the same cultural and stylistic basis. This is another aspect that requires further study.

This was a preliminary study regarding the relations between the Venetian architecture of the Renaissance and the Cypriot *iconostasis*. As such, it represents reflections based on the materials present in the two islands and their technical and aesthetic aspects. I have tried to identify the origins of the Cypriot *iconostasis* ornamentation and have looked for the reasons for such presence. I have suggested a link between the decoration and structure of the contemporary examples from Venice and Cyprus, based on the change of taste of the local populations and especially the upper layers of society. It was possible to identify the patterns the Cypriots adopted for ornamentation in the Venetian churches and funerary monuments. I have also suggested that analyses of the technical aspects of the *iconostasis* in terms of both carving and gilding permit us to trace the relations of the local craftsmen with their Venetian colleagues. Additionally, the circulation of forms and patterns can demonstrate the real dimensions of the taste evolution in Cyprus as a result of the social, economic and political changes.

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